ŚIVA CHHATRAPATI

Extracts and Documents relating to Mārāṭhā History

Vol. I

Śiva Chhatrapati

being a translation of Sabhāsad Bakhar with extracts from Chiṭṇīs and Śivadigvijaya, with notes.

by

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श्रीः

कलकत्ता विश्वविद्यालय

येथील

पोष्ट-ग्राडुएट डिपार्टमेंटचें प्रेसिडेंट

शिवाजी सारखाच

"निश्चयाचा महामेरु, बहुत जनांसी आधारु

अखंड स्थितिचा निर्धारु

यशवंत, कीर्तिवंत, सामर्थ्यवंत, वरदवंत"

सर आशुतोष मुखोपाध्याय, सरस्वती, शास्त्रवाचस्पति

यांस

श्रीशिव छत्रपति महाराज

यांचें

पावन चरित्र

परम आदर व कृतज्ञता पूर्वक अर्पण करितों।

PREFACE

The present volume is the first of a series intended for those students of Mārāṭhā history who do not know Mārāṭhi. Original materials, both published and unpublished, have been accumulating for the last sixty years and their volume often frightens the average student. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, therefore, suggested that a selection in a handy form should be made where all the useful documents should be included. I must confess that no historical document has found a place in the present volume, but I felt that the chronicles or *bakhars* could not be excluded from the present series and I began with Sabhāsad bakhar leaving the documents for a subsequent volume.

This is by no means the first English rendering of Sabhāsad. Jagannath Lakshman Mankar translated Sabhāsad more than thirty years ago from a single manuscript. The late Dr. Vincent A. Smith overestimated the value of Mankar's work mainly because he did not know its exact nature. A glance at the catalogue of Mārāṭhi manuscripts in the British Museum might have convinced him that the original Mārāṭhi Chronicle from which Mankar translated has not been lost. Mankar's was a free rendering and his work is so rare now that I need not offer any apology for bringing out a second translation. I have translated from the text edited by Rao Bahadur Kashinath Narayan Sane, the most reliable and authoritative text in print. I have tried to be not

only accurate but literal in my rendering of Sabhāsad; the translation of the extracts has been more or less free, but there also my attempt has been to be fairly accurate so that it may be safely recommended as reliable.

For the notes at the end I am indebted to Mr. V. K. Rajwade's Sources of Mārāṭha History (Mārāṭhi). The second and third notes are entirely based on Mr. Rajwade's introduction to his 8th volume. In the first note, however, I have differed on so many important points from Mr. Rajwade's views that I must take upon myself the responsibility for them.

I have to add here a word about my transliteration of Mārāṭhi words. The only thing that should be noted is that व has been represented both by *v* and *w* according to pronunciation and फ has been represented by *f* in words of Persian origin, ˙ (anuswār) and other nasal sounds have not been properly indicated, I have used *n* or *m* to represent the sound as in *Chiranjīv* and *Sampanna*. Persian words and proper names have not been properly transliterated mainly owing to my ignorance of that language and I have in some cases reproduced them in their Mārāṭhi form as in Śāistā Khān, Nizāmśāhi, etc., while in Bādshāh, Bahlol and Ādil Shāh, I believe the Persian form has been retained. I owe an explanation for writing Mārāṭha and Mārāṭhi instead of Marāṭhā and Marāṭhi. My reason is that the former pronunciation is prevalent almost everywhere outside Mahārāshṭra proper though the latter forms are correct.

I am deeply grateful to the Hon'ble Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Kt., C.S.I., President of the Post-Graduate Councils, Calcutta University, but for

whose kind and inspiring encouragement this work would never have seen light.

I am indebted to Professor Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., who not only revised my manuscripts and gave me many valuable suggestions but also placed his whole library at my disposal, and Rai Bahadur, B. A. Gupte, who, inspite of his heavy work and advancing age, revised my manuscripts twice. Mr. G. S. Sardesai, B.A. borrowed for me a copy of now rare Śivadigvijay from the State Library of Baroda. I shall fail in my duty if I do not avail myself of this opportunity of publicly recording my gratitude to the late Professor H. G. Limaye, M.A. of Poona and Professor D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Carmaichæl Professor, Calcutta University, for the encouragement and the ready assistance I always got from them. My thanks are also due to Professor Harendranath Gupta, M.Sc. of Serampur College and Mr. Aswinikumar Mookerjee, B.A., who kindly prepared the Index. None of these gentlemen is, however, responsible for any defect of this work.

The misprints are mainly due to my inexperience in proof reading. It is futile to give a list of corrections. The main errors however can be easily corrected by my readers, *leirud*, for example in p. 125 should be *birud*, Kamaldākar in p. 113 Kamalākar and *Jaigir* in p. 2 *Jāgir*.

SURENDRANATH SEN.

SENATE HOUSE,

Calcutta, the 19th May, 1920.

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LIFE OF

ŚIVA CHHATRAPATI

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[5]

To

Śrīmant Mahārāj Rājaśrī Rājārām
Sāheb Chhatrapati.

With humble respects, his servant Kṛshṇājī Anant Sabhāsad, begs to submit thus,—Your Majesty graciously enquired of your servant,—"Our father, the great king, (or the elder king) performed so many feats of bravery and subdued four different empires (*Pādśāhis*). In spite of his performing such prodigies of valour, Aurangzib came, and captured many of the forts. What was the cause of this? You are a man well informed of (the affairs) of the old kingdom. Write therefore a biography from the beginning." So said Your Majesty. Accordingly I beg to submit the information thus:—

The King's father, the elder Māhārāj was Rājśrī Śāhājī Rāje;—his father, that is, the Rāje's grandfather, Mālojī Rāje and Viṭhojī Rāje Bhonsle held *Jaigirs* as high officers[1] under the Nizāmśāhi and

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[1] In the text they are called Wazirs (वज़ीर), but a perusal of the text will convince every reader that the word is loosely used for any high official or noble.

enjoyed great importance. He had great devotion for Śri Śambhu Mahādev.[2] Upon that hill a fair is held in the month of *Chaitra*, when five to seven lakhs of people assemble. There was much scarcity of drinking water. Water there was none. It had to be brought from a distance of three *cosses*. People were much distressed (by it). So Mālojī Rāje selected a site there and constructed a big tank (by building an embankment), so that water might be had for use by all the people. An immense sum of money was spent. The tank was wholly filled with water. As soon as this was done Śri Śambhu Mahādev appeared in a dream at night [6] and pleased (with Mālojī) said—"I will be incarnate in your family,—the gods and the Brahmans will I protect and destroy the *mlechchhas*. The sovereignty of the South I confer on your family." These words were thrice repeated by way of blessing. Thereupon the Rāje was highly pleased and performed many deeds of charity.

Then two sons, Rājśrī Śāhājī Rāje and Rājśrī Sarafjī Rāje were born of Rājśrī Mālojī Rāje. Both obtained *Jaigirs* under the Pādśāhi. While they were still in service the Nizāmśāhi came to an end. After that Śāhājī Rāje became a noble of the Ādilśāhi. The title of Mahārāj was conferred on him. He maintained an army of ten to twelve thousand soldiers. Śāhājī Rāje had two wives. The first wife was Jijāī Āū, and the second wife

[2] The name of the god as well as of the hill where the temple stood. It is in the District of Satara.

Tukāī Aū. Ekojī Rāje,[3] a son, was born of the latter. As soon as a son, Rājśrī Śivājī Rāje[4] was born of Jijāī Āū, Śri Śambhu Mahādev stirred himself and said in a dream—"I myself have descended [to earth]. I will in future perform many feats of valour. [7] You should keep (the child) with you for twelve years Do not keep him afterwards. Let him go wherever he will. Do not restrain him." Such was the prophecy. Śāhājī Rāje used [thereafter] to reside at Bengrul[=Bangalore] in the Karnātak.

Nāropant Dikshit served as his agent (*Kārbhārī*). Two very intelligent sons Raghunāth Pant and Janārdan Pant were born to him. The Parganā of Puṇā was within Śāhājī Rāje's *Jaigirs*. The intelligent and shrewd Dādājī Konḍdev had been appointed there. He went to Bengrul to see the Mahārājā, Rajśrī Śivājī Rāje and Jijāī Āū went with him. The Rāje was then 12 years of age. Dādājī Pant and the Rāje were despatched to Puṇā. With them were sent a man named Śam Rāv Niḷkanṭh as *Peśwā*, Bāḷkṛshṇa Pant, cousin of Nāro Pant Dīkshit, as *Majumdār*, Sono Pant as *Dabīr* and Raghunāth Ballāḷ as *Sabnīs*. They came to Puṇā.

On coming [there], he [Dādājī Konḍdev] took possession of the twelve Māwaḷs.[5] The Māwḷe Deś-

[3] Better known as Venkojī Rāje.

[4] The date commonly accepted is 1627 A.D., but Mr. B. G. Tilak suggests 1629 as a possible date on the strength of Jedhe Yānche Śakāvalī. A recently discovered Tamil work, Śiva-bhārat also gives Tilak's date.

[5] The twelve Māwaḷs are, (1) Rohiḍkhor, (2) Velvanḍ, (3) Muse, (4) Muṭhe, (5) Jor, (6) Kanaḍ, (7) Śivthar, (8) Murum, (9) Pauḍ, (10) Gunjan, (11) Bhor, (12) Pavan.

mukhs were seized, and taken in hand, the refractory among them were put to death.[6] Then in course of time Dādājī Konḍdev [8] died. Henceforth Śivājī himself began to manage his own affairs. At a place in the Mahāl of Supe, was his uncle, his stepmother's brother, named Sambhājī Mohitā. The Mahārājā had appointed him to the charge of the Mahāl. Śivājī went to see him on the pretence of asking for *post*[7] on the day of the Śimgā festival. The *māmā* (uncle) was thrown into prison. He had three hundred horses of his own stable and much wealth. All his belongings and clothes were taken possession of, and Supe annexed. One Tukojī Chor Mārāṭhā was made *Sarṇobat* of the army (Sarṇobat=a general), Śam Rāv Niḷkanṭh *Peśwā*, Bālkṛshṇa Pant *Majumdār*, Nāro Pant, Sonājī Pant and Raghunāth Ballāḷ *Sabnīs*, with these men as his *Kārbhārīs* he conducted his affairs with much care and prudence.

Then he plundered the city of Junnar. Two hundred horses were captured. He returned to Puṇā with goods worth 3 *lakhs* of *Hons* besides clothes and jewels. Then he looted the city of Āhmadnagar, fought a great battle with the Moghuls, captured seven hundred horses. He captured elephants also,

These are under the jurisdiction of Puṇā, there are another dozen in the jurisdiction of Junnar, such as Bhimner, Ghoḍner, Pārner, Jāmner, etc.

As Dādājī had conquered a portion of Māwaḷ, I prefer to insert his name here.

[6] Chiṭṇīs says that the Māwḷe Deśmukhs were won over to his project by conciliatory means. Mr. Rājwāḍe thinks that the passage in our text signifies that the Māwḷe Deśmukhs were united to him; बांधून in the text means 'bound to his cause.'

[7] Post—Money or liquor given to dependents on great festivals.

much wealth was found. The *Pāgā* at that time numbered twelve hundred and the Śiledārs two thousand; [9] there was thus a total of three thousand horsemen. Māṇkojī Dāhātoṇḍe was then made *Sarṇobat* of the forces. Then the fort of Konḍāṇā that belonged to the Ādilśāhi was taken by assault. He established his own military outpost (*ṭhāna*) there. At that time, died a brahman named Niḷkanṭhā Rāv, commandant of the Ādilśāhi fort of Purandar. His two sons [8] began to quarrel with each other (about the succession). The Rāje went to Purandar to mediate between them. And he possessed himself of the fort by imprisoning the two brothers. He established his own garrison [there].

After this he raided Kalyāṇ and Bhivanḍī in Konkaṇ and took the Ādilśāhi fort of Māhulī. (He) went on enlisting the Māwḷes. A hill called Murbānd was fortified. It was renamed Rājgaḍ. The hill-side was also terraced and fortified. One Chandar Rāv More [9] reigned in Konkaṇ and Surve reigned at Śṛngārpur. Śirke was his minister (*Pradhān*). In this manner did they rule and hold strong forts and hill forts and about 10,000 to 12,000 forces with infantry. Raghunāth Ballāḷ Sabnīs was summoned and sent to him. When questioned (Śivājī) said to him—"The principality cannot be conquered unless Chandar Rāv is killed, [10] and none but you can execute this work. You are to go to him on an embassy." With him were appointed one hundred to hundred and twenty-five choice

[8] See Extracts, where three brothers are mentioned.

[9] Chandra Rāv was not his name but hereditary title.

swordsmen. They rode to a place near Jāwlī and then sent a verbal message to Chandar Rāv—"We have come from the Rāje, we have some negotiations and alliance to make." So they told him. Then he invited them to him and granted an audience. Some pretended negotiations were made. (Raghunāth) then retired to the quarters appointed for him and remained there. He went back (to the court) next day, got a private audience, made a parley and as chance offered (itself) stabbed the two brothers Chandar Rāv and Suryājī Rāv with a dagger.[10] He

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[10] It is clear that Sabhāsad regards this case as one of murder. Messrs. Kincaid and Parasnis, however, have tried to justify it. (History of the Maratha People, vol. I, p. 150) Chandar Rāv More had, according to them, tried to betray Śivājī. "Before carrying on Shahaji's injunction to punish Baji Ghorpade, Shivaji had his own quarrel to settle with Balaji More. He was, however, loth to destroy one whom he had known in boyhood and resolved to make an effort to win over More by personal influence. He visited Jaoli himself and in an interview with Balaji More did his utmost by appeals to his religion and patriotism to gain to his side the reluctant noble. He merely wasted his breath, Balaji during the interview tried to secure his visitor's person." Śivājī managed to escape but still persisted in his pacific attempts but at last it became clear that Chandar Rāv could not be won over. Messrs. Kincaid and Parasnis think that Chandar Rāv and his brother were killed after an angry meeting and their murder was not premeditated. This version of the Jāwlī incident is based on a Bakhar published by R. B. Parasnis in the Itihās Sangraha. I do not find any reason why the evidence of Sabhāsad should be rejected in favour of a Bakhar whose date and authorship are unknown. Prof. Sarkar's view on this subject is worth quoting. He says, "Some Maratha writers have recently "discovered" what they vaguely call "an old chronicle"—written no body knows when or by whom, preserved no body knows where and transmitted nobody knows how,—which asserts that Chandar Rao had tried to seize Shiva by treachery and hand him over to the vengeance of Bijapur * * * unfortunately for the credibility of such convenient "discoveries" none of the genuine old historians of Shiva could anticipate that this line of defence would be adopted by the twentieth century admirers of the national hero ; they have called the murder a murder." —Sarkar, Shivaji, pp. 54-55.

came out and started for his band. Those who pursued him were killed and out he went. When the chief himself had fallen why should his men exert themselves? This deed performed, he came back to meet the Rāje. The Rājā at once led an expedition in person and captured Jāwlī. The Māwḷes were granted assurances of safety and enlisted. A new fort called Pratāpgaḍ was erected. Hanmant Rāv, a brother of Chandar Rāv, had strengthened himself at a place called Chaturbeṭ, belonging to Jāwlī. The thorn of Jāwlī could not be removed unless he was killed. Cognisant of this, the Rāje sent Sāmbhājī Kāvjī, a Mahāldār of his, to Hanmant Rāv on a diplomatic project. Sāmbhājī Kāvjī got a private audience with him on the pretence of negotiating a matrimonial alliance and stabbed Hanmant Rāv to death with a dagger. [11] Jāwlī was conquered. There was a rebel named Bābjī Rāv in the valley of Śivtar. He was put into prison and his eyes were put out.

Then an expedition was made against the ruling chief Surve. Śṛngārpur was captured. Surve fled to another province. His Kārbhārī Śirke was won over and the province was taken possession of. Some villages (*mahāls*) were conferred on him (Śirke) and his daughter, the Rājā, got married to his son (Sāmbhājī). In this manner the two principalities of Jāwlī and Śṛngārpur were conquered. The Brahman Moro Trimbak Pingḷe had laboured hard in this connection and the Peśwā-ship was on that account taken from Śāmrāv Niḷkanṭh and conferred on Moro Pant; Niḷo Sondev also had worked hard and was therefore appointed *Surniś*; one Gangājī Mangājī

was appointed *Vākniś*, Prabhākar Bhaṭ, a great Brāhman, was *Upādhyāya* (family priest); the office was continued to his sons Bālam Bhaṭ and Govind Bhaṭ. Netājī Pālkar was made *Sarṇobat* of the forces. During Netājī's Sarṇobat-ship the *Pāgā* numbered seven thousand and the *Śiledars* three thousand; the whole army was thus ten thousand strong, about 10,000 Māwḷes were enlisted. One Yesājī Kank was made their *Sarṇobat*. In this manner were careful arrangements made for the kingdom. The Rājā's wife—he had married Saī Bāī the daughter of the Nimbāḷkar—was delivered of a child. [12] A son was born. He was named Sāmbhājī Rāje. Great festivities took place. Many deeds of charity were performed. The Rājā remained at Rājgaḍ.

Then the Bādshāh at Delhi learnt this news. Āli Ādilśāhā reigned at Bijāpur while the entire administration was in the hands of Baḍī Sāhebīṇ, the wife of Sultan Muhammad. She felt much distressed when she learnt this news. Pādshāhi forts had been captured, provinces conquered (one or two) some principalities overthrown. He (Śivājī) had turned a rebel. She contemplated the means to be adopted for routing and killing him and wrote a letter to Rājśrī Śāhājī Rāje then at Bengrul. A Mahāldār was sent (to him) with the letter:—"Although you are a servant of this Government, you have committed treachery by sending your son Śivājī to Puṇā and upsetting the authority of the Bādshāh there. He has captured some forts belonging to the Bādshāh, conquered

and plundered several districts and provinces, overthrown one or two principalities and killed some chiefs submissive to the Bādshāh. Now keep your son under proper control or your *Jaigir* (province over which Śāhājī had been appointed governor) will be confiscated." Then the Mahārājā answered—"Although Śivājī is my son he has fled from me. He is no longer under my control. I am a faithful dependent of the Bādshāh. Though Śivājī is my son His Majesty may attack him, or deal with him in any way he likes, I shall not interfere." So answered he.

[13]. Thereupon the Dowager Queen[11] (Baḍī Sāhebīṇ) summoned all the Ādilshāhi nobles and ministers and asked them to march against Śivājī but no one agreed. Āfzal [12] Khān, a *wazir*, however, agreed (saying) "What is Śivājī? I will bring him alive, a prisoner, without alighting from my horse (even for once)." When he asserted this, the princess (Bādshāh Zādi) became pleased (with him) and gave him clothes, ornaments, elephant, horse, wealth, promotion and honour and despatched him with *Omraos* of note at the head of twelve thousand horse besides infantry.

Then the whole force was mobilised and set off in a vast array.[13] Then they came to Tuljāpur. They came there and encamped. Śrī Bhavānī, the patron deity of

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[11] The Dowager Queen left for Mecca in 1660, and Āfzal's expedition took place in 1659. He was killed in September of that year. See Sarkar's Shivaji.

[12] One Khopḍe waited on Āfzal at Wāī, and gave a written nndertaking to arrest Śivājī. See Rājwāḍe, Vols. XV and XVII, also Jedhe Yānche Śakāvalī.

[13] The word in the original थौरस चौरस literally means lengthwise and breadthwise.

the Mahārajā's family, was broken (into pieces), thrown into a hand-mill and pounded into dust. No sooner was Bhavānī broken than a heavenly voice was heard—Afzal Khān! thou mean wretch! On the twenty-first day from this will I behead thee; the whole of thy army will I destroy and satiate the 90 million *Chāmuṇḍās* (bloodsucking deities)." So said the bodyless voice. Then the army marched and came to Paṇḍharpur. They descended to the valley of the Bhīmā [rather the Mānn river]. They came to Wāī committing sacrilege on the gods (along their route). There they decided that some one should be sent on an embassy to the Rāje and he should be captured alive when his confidence had been inspired by the conclusion of a truce. Kṛshṇājī Bhāskar, the envoy, was summoned and instructed (to say) that—"The old friendship between your father the Mahārājā and myself has been continued in brotherly intercourse. You are not on that account a stranger to me. You should come and see me. I shall obtain for you the grant of the principality of Taḷkonkaṇ and a *Jaigir* from the Bādshāh. The forts and hill forts you have captured, I shall get confirmed in your possession. I shall get for you further distinctions. I shall have conferred on you as big a *Saranjām* as you may want. If you like to see the Bādshāh you may, if not, I shall get you exempted from the regular attendance at court [14]. You should peacefully bring the Rājā for an interview, by making some such professions. Else we shall come." So was Kṛshṇājī Pant instructed. And then he arranged to despatch him.

In the meantime (or then) the Rājā got the news that Āfzal Khān has been appointed at the head of twelve thousand horse (to march against him) from Bijāpur. When he learnt this, the Rājā decided to mobilise all his forces, fight at Jāwlī and to go to Pratāpgaḍ in person. Then he was dissuaded by all; "You (they counselled) should not give battle, peace should be concluded." The Rājā answered to that—"As he killed Sāmbhājī,[14] so will he kill me. I will do what is possible before I am killed. Peace I will not conclude." This decision was made. That night Śrī Bhavānī of Tuḷjāpur appeared (to him) in a bodily shape and said—"I am pleased. I shall assist you in everything. At your hands I shall get Āfzal killed. I grant you success. Thou shouldst have no anxiety." In this manner did the goddess enliven him with resolution and confidence and assured him of security. The Rāje awoke, called Jijā Bāī Āū and related to her the details of the dream. And men of note, like Gomājī Nāīk Pānsambal Jāmdār, Kṛshṇājī Nāīk, Subhānjī Nāīk and Sardārs and Sarkārkuns like Moropant and Niḷopant and Aṇṇājīpant and Sonajīpant and Gangājī Mangājī and Netājī Pālkar Sarṇobat and Raghunāth Ballāḷ Sabnīs and the Purohit were summoned and to them all [15] was the dream related. "The goddess is favourably disposed, now will I kill Āfzal Khān and rout his army" so said he. It was in the opinion of all, a hazardous step, if successful, it would be all right; if not, what would

[14] The Mārāṭhi chroniclers erroneously think that Āfzal had something to do with Sāmbhājī's death. See Extracts.

happen?—this became the subject of their debate. Then the Rājā said—"(The conclusion of peace will also) cause loss of life. If we fight and win, well and good, if life is lost fame remains. A verse runs to this effect—

"Victory brings fortune, death the celestial maids;
This body is but transient,
What terror has then death in battle?"

Such is the course prescribed in the books of polity. Therefore it is right that we should fight. Now we should make one arrangement only. There are my son Sāmbhājī and my mother; they should be kept at Rājgaḍ. If I kill Āfzal Khān and win victory, then I shall remain what I am. If perchance I lose my life in the course of the war, then there is Sāmbhājī Rāje, deliver the kingdom to him and place yourselves at his commands." Leaving such instructions for an extreme case and exhorting everybody, he placed his head at his mother's feet and took leave of her. His mother[15] blessed him, saying "Śivbā thou shalt be victorious!"

Then the Rāje started, after receiving such blessings, and went to Pratāpgaḍ. He instructed Netājī Pālkar Sarṇobat to come up the Ghāṭs with his forces. And he said—"I shall invite Āfzal Khān to Jāwlī, meet him by offering to make peace, and draw him near me by inspiring his confidence. You should then come to Ghāṭ Māthā and block the roads." Raghunāth Ballāḷ Sabnīs was sent with him. And it was arranged that Moropant Peśwā should take in

[15] Chiṭṇīs and the author of Śivdigvijaya say that Sāmbhājī and Jijābāī were at Pratāpgaḍ.

his company Śām Rāv Nilkanṭh and Trimbak Bhāskar and come from Konkaṇ.

In the meantime Kṛshṇājī Pant came as envoy from the Khān. He was taken up to Pratāpgaḍ. The Rājā had an interview with him. The Khān's message, as he had charged him, was delivered. [16] Some formal conversation made, the Rāje said, —"As is the Mahārājā, so is the Khān an elder [16] to me. I shall certainly have an interview with him." So saying, (he) gave Kṛshṇājī Pant a house for his quarters. (He) gave him leave to go there. The next day the Rāje sat in his court and [17] summoned the Sarkārkuns and all Sardārs, (in short) all of like rank. And there was a faithful and respectable man named Pantājī Gopināth in the Rāje's service. Him did he summon and with him he held a private council in the palace.[18] The Rāje said to Pantājī Pant— "The Khān's envoy Kṛshṇājī Pant has come on an embassy, I shall give him leave and send him off. I shall despatch you also to Āfzal Khān—Go there, have an interview with the Khān and conduct the negotiations. Demand the Khān's solemn oaths (of assurance or sincerity). If he asks for your oaths give them; make no hesitation. Anyhow bring (the Khān) to Jāwlī. Besides, you are to institute an enquiry in his army by some device and get information by whatever means it can be obtained. Enquire whether the Khān's heart is set on my good or harm. With these instructions the Rāje

16 वडील—means, a father, ancestor or elder.

17 सदर—Hall of public audience or simply the Darbar Hall.

18 महाल—may stand here either for the palace or the seraglio.

went to the court (Darbār). (He) summoned Kṛshṇājī Pant there. The Rāje spoke (in the following style)—A solemn oath (क्रिया) from the Khān is necessary. Take on that account Pantājī Pant of our side with you to see the Khān. Make the Khān give him a (written ?) oath with an imprint of his (Khān's) palm on it.[19] Bring the Khān to Jāwlī. I shall go and have an interview with uncle (the Khān). There is nothing evil in my mind." So said the Rāje. To him (Kṛshṇājī Pant) the proposal was agreeable. Then he presented robes of honour to Kṛshṇājī Pant and sent him back. [17] Similarly robes of honour were presented to Pantājī Pant and he was despatched to Afzal Khān.

He went and interviewed the Khān. The Khān honoured him. Kṛshṇājī Bhāskar submitted that—"Śivājī had sent Pantājī Pant as his ambassador. He should be given a private interview." On his making this suggestion, the Khān sat in a private apartment, summoned Kṛshṇājī Pant and Pantājī Pant and asked for the news. Kṛshṇājī Pant said—"The Rāje is not opposed to your views. As is Mahārājā Śāhājī Rāje, so are you (to him); so he asserted on his oaths. The Rāje will without any fear come to Jāwlī. The Khān also should come to Jāwlī without entertaining any suspicion. An interview between you and him will be held. He will listen to all that you will say." When

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19 I do not know what हस्तपंजराचीआण exactly means; but both Prof. Limaye and Mr. B. A. Gupte are of opinion that it was an oath confirmed with the print of one's palm or pānjā.

the Rājā's message to this purport was made known to the Khān, he took an oath with evil intentions in his mind. The Khān said—"The Rājā is a base-born unbeliever (हरामजादा काफिर), Jāwlī is a place difficult of access, he asks me to meet him there. Therefore, if thou Brahman as an intermediary, wilt take an oath, (for my safe return) I shall go to meet Śivājī." Therefore, Pantājī Pant gave an assurance on a solemn oath.—"The Rāje is not disposed to do you harm. Have no suspicion. Arrange for going for an interview." Saying so to the Khān, he bribed men in the army and enquired of the clerks and ministers and questioned them. They said,—"Śivāji is a rogue (हरामजादा). He cannot be captured by fighting.[20] Therefore an interview should be arranged by diplomacy. [18] The Khān has so contrived that he should be captured at the time of the interview." When he learnt this, Pantājī Pant came to the Khān the next day, and begged permission for going to the Rāje. The Khān sent him to the Rāje, with great honours.

Pantājī Pant came to Pratāpgaḍ. He saw the Rājā. (He) gave Pantājī Pant leave to go home at that time. At night Pantājī Pant alone was summoned to an interview. The Rāje and Pant sat together and the Rāje asked him for information in private with many solemn oaths—"Tell me the real facts. Tell me what is in the mind of the Khān, (and how he is inclined). You and I are

[20] What they evidently meant was that it was Śivājī's practice to avoid a pitched battle.

not separate. If my kingdom is preserved, its entire management I shall confer on you. I shall give you much wealth also. Give me true information." Thus did the Rāje take him in a brotherly fashion and enquire. Then he said, "There is evil intention in the Khān's mind. It is that he will bring you to an interview by a truce, capture you by treachery and then take you a prisoner to Bijāpur. If you have courage I shall bring the Khān to Jāwlī, after detaching him [from his army] by many devices. You have to muster courage and single-handed kill him in a lonely place and plunder the whole of his army. Make the entire kingdom your own." Such was the counsel he gave. It pleased the Rāje. Then he gave Pantājī Pant a reward of five thousand Hons.[21] And (he instructed the Pant)[22] to tell the Khān, "The Rāje is very much afraid. He has not the courage to come to Wāī for interview. The Khān is (my) superior, if he will kindly come to Jāwlī and grant (me) an audience then I may go to see him. It will signify his greatness, if the Khān will take me by his hand, restore my confidence by words of hope and secure my welfare by conducting me to the audience of the Bādshāh. Bring him with you by some such professions." With these instructions, he sent Pantājī Pant.

[19] He went and met the Khān at Wāī. He submitted (to him) the message. "The Rāje is

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[21] Hon, a gold coin worth 4 to 5 Rupees.

[22] Pantājī is believed to be the ancestor of Sakhārām Bāpu. Mr. P. N. Patwardhan however differs from this view.

timid. He has his suspicions about coming here for an interview. You should yourself proceed to Jāwlī. He will come there to meet you. Give him assurances and take him with you." So said he. Thereupon the Khān, highly pleased, marched on and came to Jāwlī down the ghāṭ of Raḍtonḍī. He encamped below Pratāpgaḍ and halted there. On all sides in the neighbourhood,—in various places where water could be had, descended 12,000 soldiers and musketeers with artillery waggons, elephants, and carts, in connection with camel swivels. Pantājī Pant was sent up to the fort with a message asking the Rāje to come to the interview.

Thereupon he went and saw the Rāje. He made some formal communication proper to such occasions. Afterwards in private he communicated all the informations (in the following manner). "As instructed by you, I have brought the Khān. Now I shall bring about a private interview between you two in person. You should boldly do what is necessary." In this sense did he speak. It was arranged that the interview should take place another day, after a day's interval. "The Rāje should descend from the fort, the Khān should advance from his tent and the two should meet each other in a tent at some intermediate place." Having settled (the matter) in this manner, he descended with the Rāje's message, to the Khān in the hill-side [23] below the fort. The news was

[23] माची—A terrace on a hill-side below the crest of a hill. These places were often fortified for the better security of the strongholds above

communicated to the Khān, who also agreed (to abide by the settlement).

Then the next day, the Rāje prepared a place of meeting [24] below the fort. Tents were erected, beds spread, big pillows (तिवाश्रिया) arranged, canopies raised, and tassels of pearls (झालरी) hung, screens of variegated colour were fitted up, bolsters were laid (for sitters to recline on), and cushions and pads placed. The meeting-place was made ready.

[20] Netājī Pālkar with his forces had been brought to the Ghāṭmāthā; to him was sent the instruction by word of mouth,—"To-morrow I go to meet the Khān, I shall win victory and return to the fort. Then only one shot will be fired from the fort. Then you are to descend from the Ghāṭs, fall upon the Khān's army and attack it." Similarly Moro Pant Peśwā had been brought from Konkaṇ. He was also told of the signal of a shot fired from the fort. (The Rāje) descended from the fort and stationed selected men in thickets at various points. The Rāje himself put on a coat of mail. On his head he put on an embroidered turban (मंदील), to it he attached a (तोडा) tassel of pearls. He put on short trousers and tucked a sash round his waist. And in his hands he held a *bichvā* (बिचवा)[25] and a *vāghnakh* (वाघनख).[25]

[24] The word सदर means a *kāchāri* or a place for holding a meeting.

[25] The *bichvā* was a short curved dagger, so named from its shape, that resembled a scorpion. *Vāghnakh*, literally tiger's claws, were short sharp still claws and could be adjusted to one's fingers. These two weapons with Śivāji's sword have been preserved at Satara and are still worshipped by the present representative of his family.

While going to the interview he took with him two brave men, namely Jiū Mahālā—a dauntless fellow, who had with him a *paṭṭā* (straight sword पट्टा), a *firang*,[26] and a shield;—and Sambhājī Kāvjī Mahāldār similarly armed with a *paṭṭā*, a *firang*, and a shield. Other swordsmen were stationed in thickets (kept in ambush) at different places in the neighbourhood. And the Rāje took his meal, after a bath. He descended from the fort prepared for going to the rendezvous.

The Khān also got ready and started from his camp for going to the interview. In his company started 1,000 or 1,500 musketeers armed ready. Many expert swordsmen came out in his train and started (with him). Pantājī Pant at once came forward and submitted "If you go with such an assemblage, the Rājā will be frightened. He will go back to the fort. The interview will not take place. [21] What is Śivājī? What is the necessity of so much ado for this? The Rājā will come from there with two men. You should go from here with two men. You both should sit together and have an interview. Do then what the exigency requires." On his saying so, the whole following was made to wait at the distance of an arrow-shot, and the Khān in a palanquin, two officers,[27] and Kṛshṇajī Pant the envoy, (these only) went forward. A soldier named

[26] A *firnng* was a long sword of western make—possibly Toledoblade. Śivājī's Bhavānī was a Genoese blade.

[27] हुद्दे करी, according to Rao Bahadur Sane, means armsbearer, but it may also mean simply an officer.

Said Banḍā, skilled in swordsmanship was taken with him (the Khān), Pantājī Pant also was in his company. They went to the pavilion (of meeting). The Khān burnt with anger in his mind as he saw the pavilion, thinking "What is Śivājī? Śāhājī's son. Even a *wazir* has not got such gold embroidered beds. What does this pearlbedecked pavilion mean? He has got such furniture as is not possessed by the Bādshāh." As he made this remark, Pantājī Pant replied, "The Bādshāh's things will go to the Bādshāh's palace. Why so much anxiety for that?" When this was said, he sat down in the pavilion, couriers and messengers were sent to bring the Rāje quickly.

The Rāje was waiting at the foot of the fort. Thence he proceeded slowly. He stopped, when on enquiry, he heard that Said Banḍā, an expert swordsman, was with the Khān. And (he) sent for Pantājī Pant. He came. To him (the Rāje) said—"As is the Mahārājā so is the Khān (to me). I am the Khān's nephew. He is my guardian (senior). I feel afraid as Said Banḍā is with the Khān. Send away this Said Banḍā at once from here." So he told Pantājī Pant. Thereupon Pantājī Pant went,—appealed to the Khān through Kṛshṇājī Pant,[28] (and) Said Banḍā too was sent away. Then the Khān and the two officers (alone) remained. Then the Rāje from this side [22] went with

[28] Grant Duff says that Pantājī was the Khān's envoy and Kṛshṇājī was sent with him by Śivājī. This is a mistake as has been proved by the Sanad granted to Pantājī. His descendants also enjoyed the village of Hirve as an Inam.

two armed men Jiū Mahālā [29] and Sambhājī Kāvjī. The Khān stood up, and met the Rāje, advancing a little. As the Rāje embraced him, the Khān caught his head tightly (in an embrace) in his armpit. And unsheathed the *Jamdāḍ*,[30] he had in his hand, and struck at the side of the Rāje. The weapon slid over the steel armour the Rāje had on, (and) did not reach the body. Seeing this the Rāje, who had the *vāghnakh* in his left hand, struck (the Khān's) belly with that hand. The Khān had only a cotton garment (झगा)[31] on. The Khān's guts came out at the blow of the *vāghnakh*. With the right hand a blow of the *bichvā*, that he held in it, was struck. After dealing two blows in this manner, he drew out his head, jumped below the terrace (of the tent), and went away. The Khān bawled out—"I am killed! I am killed! Treachery! Run quickly!" As he said so, the bearers brought the palanquin. And they put him into the palanquin, lifted it and began to carry him off. Sambhājī Kāvjī Mahāldār, slashed at the legs of the bearers at once. And (he) felled the bearers below the palanquin. He cut off the Khān's head. With it in his hands he came to the Rāje. At this juncture Said Banḍā, the swordsman, who had been running up, came near the Rāje. He dealt a blow of his *paṭṭā* (Sword) at the Rāje. The Rāje

[29] Jiū Mahālā was a barber by caste. His descendants are still living at Konḍvali, a village on the way from Wāī to Mahāvaleśvar—Bhārat Itihās Sanśodhak Manḍaḷ Sammelan vritta, Vol. V, p. 16.

[30] Jamdāḍ is a short sword. Indo-persian Jamdhār—यमधार 'Death's edge.'

[31] झगा—a robe or a gown.

took from Jiū Mahālā the *paṭṭā* entrusted to him, and warded off four blows of Said Banḍā by holding the *paṭṭā* and the *bichvā* crosswise. At the fifth blow the Rāje intended to kill Said Banḍā, (but) in the meantime Jiū Mahālā dealt a blow of his *firang* at Said Banḍā on the shoulder. That blow severed the sword arm with the weapon in it. And the Rāje went quickly to the fort above, with Jiū Mahālā and Sambhājī Kāvjī Mahāldār, carrying with him the Khān's head.

[23] As soon as he reached the fort, he fired a cannon. At once did, men below the fort, the men and the forces on the Ghāṭ, and Moro Pant from Konkaṇ, and the Māwḷes, rush from four sides and four directions on the Khān's camp. On learning the news that the Rāje had gone (back) to the fort after killing the Khān, and cutting off his head, all of the Khān's twelve thousand soldiers were struck with panic and lost heart. But in the meantime the Rāje's forces carried slaughter on all sides. Severe and frightful fighting went on. For two *prahars* (6 hours) a frightful battle was fought. High grade noble men (वजीर) of the Khān's party and Mahomedan soldiers of the Mahadīn, the Uzdin, the Pāṭhān, the Rohilā, the *Surnis* (?), and the Arab races; and the Mārāṭhās of good families, the Dhāngars, and the Brahmans;—similarly the artillery men, the *Baile* [32] infantry, the Karnātak footmen (प्यादे) the musketeers, the light-armed men, (आड इत्यारी) the lancers,[33]

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[32] Baile or Bahile means infantry.

[33] Rochevār, Rai Bahadur B. A. Gupte thinks, means—men with long shafted lances of three cornered blades.

(रोचेवार) the right and the left wings of the army,[34] and spearsmen (इटेकरी) of other castes, *Hatulve*, (हतुलवे)? archers, mace-bearers (छडीवाले), swordsmen (पटाईत), (camp-followers) camp guards (बंकाईत), rocket throwers (बाणाईत),[35] and gunners, (तोफखाना) all mustered strong and gave battle. It became a big battlefield. Men and Māwḷes in the Rāje's army fought on foot. They smote down elephants, which succumbed in their places. Of many elephants they cut off the tails, of several elephants they broke the tusks. Of many they chopped off the legs. Horses were likewise killed at one blow. Similarly many men in the Khān's army they killed outright. Of several they severed the legs. Of many they knocked out the teeth. Of many they shattered the skulls. Several died.

[24] Those who offered fight were killed, felled, and levelled with the earth. Similarly they killed camels. A heavy slaughter was made as they fought. The dead could not be numbered. Blood flowed like a river. A desperate fighting took place. The elephants, horses, camels, treasures, palanquins and nobles (वजोर) captured, after fighting in this manner, were as follows:—

Elephants male and female—numbering	65
Horses	4,000
Camels	1,200

34 वलकवार येलंगेवार, Prof. J. N. Sarkar suggests, are corruptions of the Turkish words *Jaranghar* and *baranghar* meaning the right and left wings of an army. Also see Irvine, Moghul Army.

35 According to Irvine, Bāṇ means a rocket and was used in the Moghul army also.

Jewels worth ...	... Rs.	3,00,000
Clothes ...	... ,,	2,000 bundles.
Coins, *Mohors, Hons* and Gold coins (worth)	... ,,	7,00,000

All the guns and artillery were captured.

The officers captured were as follows :—

Sardār and Wazir of high rank ...	1
Lāmbājī Bhonsle	1
Son of Āfzal Khān	1
(Āfzal Khān's) concubine's son ...	1
Rājśrī Jhunjār Rāv Ghāḍge	1

And privates besides these.

Such were the captures made. Besides (these), commodities, goods, cattle, bullocks, and cash were taken. Combatants, who begged protection holding grass in their teeth, the women and children, Bhaṭ Brahmans and the poor, released on their professing helplessness. The Rājā was a man of sacred renown, and did not kill those who sought his protection; his men also on that account released some helpless (enemies). Fazal, son of Āfzal Khān, fled among the forest, with rags tied to his feet. Similarly fled many men of good birth. They could not be numbered.[36]

Thus was conquest made and victory won. Then the Rāje had the Khān's son and those *sardārs* who were attempting to escape, captured and brought to him. He himself descended from the fort, met all his men as well as Āfzal Khān's men, and as many of his soldiers' sons as were of fighting age ; treated

36 Grant Duff's account of the Āfzal Khān incident has been borrowed from Khāfi Khān who wrote long after Śivājī's death.

them kindly and [25] reassured them, and took into his service the sons of the combatants who had fallen (in the action). He directed that the widows of those who had no sons, should be maintained by (a pension) half (their husbands') pay. The wounded were given (rewards of) two hundred, one hundred, twenty-five or fifty *Hons* per man, according to the nature of their wound. Warriors of renown and commanders of brigades (जुमले) were given horses and elephants in reward. Some were sumptuously rewarded with (ornaments like) bracelets, necklaces, crests, medallions, earrings (चौकडे),[37] and crests of pearl. Such were the presents conferred on the men. Some were rewarded with grants of villages in *mokāsā*.

In the days of yore, the *Pāndavas* extirpated the *Kauravas*, (and then alone) did such hand to hand fight between individual heroes take place. The Rāje himself killed in single combat the Khān who was by nature a veritable Duryodhan; as much in strength of body as in wickedness of heart. Bhīm killed him single-handed. Similarly did [the Rāje]. Śivājī Rāje was Bhīm himself. It was he who killed Āfzal. This deed was not that of a human being. An incarnation he surely was, and so indeed could he perform this deed. Success was attained. It happened in the above manner. The nobles of the Khān's army who had been

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[37] चौकडा—An ornament composed of four golden rings, each having a pendant of pearl. Two such rings are worn in each ear, encircling the auricle. *Molesworth.*

captured were released, on professing helplessness,[38] with presents of clothes, ornaments, and horses. After that Pantājī Pant was given numerous robes, horses, and ornaments. (He was) given immense wealth also. Rejoicings were made, news of the victory was communicated in writing to the Lady Mother (Jijā Bāī), and also to all at Rājgaḍ. On hearing the news they too distributed sweets, and caused kettle drums (नगारे) and cornets to be played, and cannon to boom, and made great rejoicings. In this manner did things happen concerning the Rāje.

On the fourth day after that the spies and messengers (जासुद हरकारे) brought the news to the Bādshāh and Bādshāh Zādi at Bijāpur (that) Āfzal Khān himself had been killed, his head severed and carried away. The whole army was plundered and utterly destroyed. On being thus informed [26] Āli Ādilshāh descended from his throne, went to the harem and took to his bed.[39] He lamented much. The Bādshāh Zādi likewise, when the news reached her, threw herself on the couch, whereon she was then seated, and began to cry,—"Āllā! Āllā! Khudā! Khudā!" (she

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[38] The meaning is not altogether clear. Rao Bahadur Sane reads it as अनाथकरून but remarks that in the original, the word seems to be अनात In that case it must be a corruption of Persian *inayet*, meaning favour. The above translation is made on the supposition that like the Romans who made their enemies pass under a yoke, Śivājī had also made his enemies undergo some humiliation before their release. I must however admit that there is no historical evidence in its favour.

[39] पलंगावरि मिजला—the ordinary meaning of the word निजणे is not applicable here, and I think the idea of throwing is also understood. Sabhāsad's style is very condensed.

cried) "Khudā has overthrown the sovereignty of the Mahomedans."—In this strain did she bewail (long) and lament much. For three days the Bādshāh Zādi did not eat or drink. In the same manner were all the nobles, the army and the entire city dejected. "To-morrow will the Rājā come," they went on saying, "plunder the city and capture the fort;" so scared were they. "It seems that Khudā has taken away the Bādshāhi from the Mahomedans, and conferred it on the Mārāṭhās." In this manner they began to talk.

After this Śrī Bhavānī of Tuḷjāpur came to the Rājā in a dream, and said, "I have got Afzal killed with thy hands, and those who came afterwards I caused to be defeated. In future too are great deeds to be performed. I shall live in thy kingdom. Establish me and maintain my worship" (पुजापुजन प्रकार). Then the Rāje loaded a cart with money, sent it to the Gaṇḍakī, brought a stone of that river, made an image of Śrī Bhāvanī with it and established the goddess at Pratāpgaḍ. Many deeds of charity were performed, jewelled ornaments of many different styles were made for the goddess. *Mokāsā* villages were granted (to Bhavānī) and separate *Havāldār*, *Majumdār* and *Peśwā* appointed for the goddess's property and a great festivity was inaugurated. Vows[40] have always been offered and fairs held (at Pratāpgaḍ) exactly as at Tuḷjāpur, and a behest was made in a dream to the people going to the fair of Tuḷjāpur.

[40] नवस has the same meaning as Bengali मानत

"I am at Pratāpgaḍ, you should go there, see me, and fulfil your vows." So said the goddess. It became [known] as the shrine of a living deity.

Afterwards, realising that Āfzal Khān, who was one of the principal *wazirs* of Bijāpur, had been overthrown and that kingdom consequently weakened, the Rāje captured all the forts belonging to the Bijāpur state in Taḷkonkaṇ. Fifty to sixty [27] were taken. Taḷkonkaṇ was conquered. Varghāṭ also was occupied. Then a mighty force of seven thousand *Pāgā* and eight thousand *Śiledārs*, fifteen thousand in all, and 12,000 militia (*haśm*) was mobilised. With the whole of the assembled army Netājī Pālkar *Sarṇobat* led an expedition to the Mughal dominions and plundered Bāleghāṭ, Parānḍe, Havelī [of] Kalyāṇ, Kulbargā, Āvsā, Udgīr and territories as far as the valley of the Godavery. Contribution was levied. Lands were confiscated. The suburbs of Aurangābād were plundered. The Mughal *Faujdār* of Aurangābād advanced and there took place a battle with him. Horses and elephants were captured. The Mughal territory[41] was utterly disturbed. He (Netājī) went on performing such heroic deeds.

[41] Two Maratha leaders, Minaji Bhonsla at the head of 3,000 horse and Kashi, crossed the Bhima and plundered the Mughal villages in Chamargunda and Raisin late in March 1657. Shivaji was at this time busy looting Junnar. He was there for some time, he slipped away to the Ahmadnagar District at the approach of Rao Karn and Shaista Khan. About May he was overtaken and defeated by Nasiri Khan. At the approach of rain Shiva retreated to his own territories and the Mughal officers fell back and the campaign closed. Sarkar's Shivaji, pp. 60-61.

The Rāje appointed officers and framed the following regulations for the management of the forts that had been captured. In every fort there should be a *Havāldār*, a *Sabnīs*, (and) a *Sarṇobat*, (and) these three officers should be of the same status. These three should conjointly carry on the administration. There should be kept a store of grain and war material in the fort. An officer called *Kārkhānnīs* was appointed for this work. Under his supervision [28] should be written all accounts of income and expenditure. Where the fort was an important one, (and) where forts were of extensive circuit, should be kept five to seven *Taṭ Sarṇobats*[42] (तटसरणोबत). (The charge of) the ramparts should be divided among them. They should be careful about keeping vigilant watch. Of every ten men of the garrison to be stationed in the fort, one should be made a *Nāīk*. Nine privates[43] (पाइक) and the tenth a *Nāīk*--men of good families should in this manner be recruited. Of the forces, the musketeers (बन्दुखी), the spearsmen (इटेकरी), the archers (तिरंदाज), and the light armed men (श्राडहत्यारी), should be appointed after the Rāje himself had carefully inspected each man individually, (and selected) the brave and shrewd. The garrison in the fort, the *Havāldār* and the *Sarṇobat* should be Mārāṭhās of good family. They should be appointed after some one of the Royal personal staff (हुजरात) had agreed to stand surety (for them). A Brahman known to the personal staff of the king should be appointed *Sabnīs* and a Prabhu *Kārkhānnīs*.

[42] *Taṭ Sarṇobat*=Officer in charge of the wall.

[43] *Pāik* stands for an ordinary sepoy of the infantry.

In this manner each officer retained should be dissimilar [in caste] to the other. The fort was not to be left in the hands of the *Havāldār* alone. No single individual could surrender the fort to any rebel or a miscreant. In this manner was the administration of the forts carefully carried. A new system was introduced.

Similarly *Pāgās* were organised in the army. The strength of the *Pāgā* was rendered superior [to that of the *Śiledār.*] The *Śiledārs* were placed under the jurisdiction of the *Pāgā*. To none was left independence enough for rebelling. To every horse in the *Pāgā* was appointed a trooper *(Bārgir)*; over twenty-five such *Bārgirs* was appointed an expert Mārāṭhā *Havāldār*. (Each body of) five *Havālās* was named a *Jumlā*. The *Jumlādār* should have a salary of five hundred *Hons* and a palanquin; and his *Majumdār* a salary of one hundred to one hundred and twenty-five *Hons*. For every twenty-five horses (there should be) a water carrier (पखालजी) and a farrier (नालबन्द). A *Hāzārī* was (a commander of) ten such *Jumlās*.[44] To this (office was attached) a salary of one thousand *Hons*, a *Majumdar*, a Mārāṭhā *Kārbhārī*, and a Prabhu Kāyastha *Jamnīs*; for them (was allotted) five hundred *Hons*. Salary and palanquin should be given to each individual according to this scale. Accounts of income and expenditure should be made up in the presence of all the four. Five such [29] *Hāzārīs* should be

[44] According to Grant Duff, 5 *Jumlās* made a *Subhā* and 10 *Subhās* a *Hāzārī*.

(united under) a *Pānch Hāzārī.* To him (should be given) a salary of two thousand *Hons.* A *Majumdār,* a *Kārbhārī* and a *Jamnīs* should likewise be (attached to) him. These five *Hāzārīs* were under the command of the *Sarṇobat.* The administration of the *Pāgā* was of the same kind. Similarly the different brigadiers (*subhas*) of the *Śiledārs* also were under the command of the *Sarṇobat.* Both the *Pāgā* and the *Śiledārs* should obey the orders of the *Sarṇobat.* With each *Hāzārī* and *Pānch Hāzārī* should be stationed *Kārkuns* for the *Vāknisi* (news-writing) work, *Harkarās* (couriers and spies) and *Jāsuds* appointed by the *Sarṇobat.* Bahirjī Jādhava, a very shrewd man, was appointed *Nāīk* of the *Jāsuds*[45] under the *Sarṇobat.* This man was selected after great scrutiny.

The army should come to cantonments in the home dominions during the rainy season. There should be kept stored grains, fodder, medicines, houses for men and stables for horses thatched with grass. As soon as the *Dasrā* was over, the army should march out of their quarters. At the time of their departure, an inventory should be made, of the belongings of all the men, great or small, in the army, and they should start on the expedition (मुलुखगिरी).[46] For eight months, the forces should subsist (on their spoils) in the foreign territories.

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[45] A *Jāsud* acted both as a spy and a courier. The *Harkarās'* function also seems to have been the same. For the latter, see Broughton's Letters Written in A Mahratta Camp.

[46] *Mulk-giri* is a Persian term meaning the conquest of a (foreign) country, but in Mārāṭhi records it is used in the sense of plunder.

They should levy contribution. There should be no women, female slaves, or dancing girls in the army. He who would keep them should be beheaded. In enemy territories, women and children should not be captured. Males, if found, should be captured. Cows should not be taken. Bullocks should be requisitioned for transport purposes only. Brahmans should not be molested; where contribution has been laid, a Brahman should not be taken as a surety. No one should commit adultery.

For eight months, they should be on their expedition in foreign territories. On the way back to the barracks in the month of *Vaiśākh*, the whole army should be searched at the frontiers of the home dominions. The former inventory of the belongings should be produced. Whatever might be in excess, should be valued and deducted from the soldiers' salary. Things of very great value, if any, should be sent to the royal treasury. If any one secretly kept (any thing) and the *Sardār* came to know (of it), the *Sardār* should punish him. After the return of the army to their camp, an account should be made, and all the *Sardārs* should come to see the Rāje, with gold, silver, jewels, clothes, and other commodities [30]. There all the accounts should be explained and the things should be delivered to His Majesty. An account of the expenditure upon men in the army should be submitted. If any surplus should be found as due to the contingents it should be asked for in cash from His Majesty. Then they should return to the barrack. *Saranjām* should be given to

the men who had worked hard (in the late campaign). If any one had been guilty of violating the rules or of cowardice, an enquiry should be made and the truth ascertained with the consensus of many and (the offender) should be punished with dismissal. Investigation should be quickly made. For four months they should remain in the barracks and on the *Dasrā* day they should wait on the Rāje. (Then) they should march out to the country, selected for the expedition, by the order of the Rāje. Such were the rules of the army.

Similarly, among the Māwḷes, there was one *Nāīk* for every ten men. Over (every) fifty men or five *Nāīks* there was a *Havāldār*. Over two or three *Havālās* there was a *Jumledār*. Over ten *Jumlās* there was a *Hāzārī*, the *Jumlādār* had a salary of one hundred *Hons* per year. (He had) a *Sabnīs* who had salary of 40 *Hons*. The *Hāzārī* got a salary of five hundred *Hons*. His *Sabnīs's* salary was from 100 to 125 *Hons*. Such were the terms of the *Hāzārī's* appointment. Over seven *Hāzārīs*, was appointed a *Sarṇobat*, Yesājī Kank by name. Every body was to abide by his orders.

To the *Sarṇobat*, and the *Majumdār*, and the *Kārkuns*, and men on the personal staff of the Rāje, were given assignments on land revenue, for their salary. The land cultivated by them was taxed like that of the *Rāyats* and the sum credited as [part of] their pay. The balance, of their dues (was paid by) '*varāt*' (orders) either on

the *Huzur* (Central Government) or on the District (establishments). In this manner were their annual accounts punctually settled. *Mokāsā Mahāls* or villages with absolute rights should on no account be granted to the (men in the) army, the militia (*Haśam*) and the fort establishments. Every payment should be made by *varāts* or with cash from the treasury. None but the *Kārkuns* had any authority over the lands. All payments to the army, the militia, and the fort establishment should be made by the *Kārkuns*. If *mokāsā* were granted, the *Rāyats* [31] would grow unruly and wax strong; and the collection regulations would no longer be obeyed. If the *Rāyats* grew powerful, there would be (rebellions) disturbance at various places. Those, who were given *mokāsās*, if united with the *Zamindārs*, would grow unruly. Therefore *mokāsās* should not be granted to anybody.

Kārkuns should be appointed for conducting investigation into the provinces that were conquered. In the first place an expert scribe, experienced in the *Daftardār's* work, one who has drafted papers (documents) and drawn accounts, in short, an intelligent man (well versed in) *Daftardār's* work should be selected and stationed in each tract and charged with the *Majmu* office (*Majumdār's* office) of the *Mahāl*. To some should be entrusted the custody of the *Mahāl*. To some should be given the accountantship of the *Subhā*. Then as things progress, an intelligent and careful *Havāldār* should be picked up and the *Subhā* should be conferred

on (him). The *māmlā*[47] of the *Mahāl* should be given to a clever *Majumdār* of the *Subhā*, skilled in writing and conversant in account keeping. The charge of a province (or district) should not be entrusted to one, who did not know how to write or had not served as a *Kamāviś*. Such a man should be sent back by being told, either to serve under the Bādshāhi or to enlist as a *Śiledār* with his (own) horse.[48] Of the *Kārkuns* employed in the province, the *Havāldār*, according to the size of his *Mahāl* should be given a salary of three *Hons*, or as much as four or five *Hons*, the *Majumdār* should be paid at the rate of three, four, five, fifty or seventy-five *Hons*. Over two *Mahāls* (yielding) a lakh, one and a quarter of a lakh, and three quarters of a lakh of *Hons* (approximately), should be placed a *Subhedār* and a *Kārkun*. To them should be assigned a salary of four hundred *Hons* per man. The *Majumdār*, appointed to the *Subhā* should be given a salary of one hundred to one hundred and twenty-five *Hons*. The *Subhedār* should be made to maintain a palanquin (on an allowance) of four hundred *Hons*. The *Majumdār* should be given a sunshade.[49] An allowance (for maintaining *Ābdāgiri*) should be granted from the *Sarkār*. Under

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47 Māmlā means māmlatdārship.

48 Bādshāhi cannot mean any Mahomedan government here. Does the author mean that the under-qualified candidate should be advised either to enter the army as a śiledār or to enter the civil service in some subordinate capacity? The meaning is not clear.

49 Ābdāgiri is an ornamented sunshade—probably derived from the Persian word Āftāb (Sun). It still forms a necessary part of marriage procession and used by all men of high rank even on ordinary occasions.

the Bādshāhi, (the honour of using) umbrellas used to be granted to *wazirs*, *omraos* and distinguished nobles; that system was recently abolished, (as it seemed to be) an anomaly that umbrellas (should be held) over the Bādshāh, as well as over his servants. Therefore the Bādshāhi system of (granting the use of) umbrella was abolished and the use of) the sunshade (*Ābdāgiri*) introduced. All officers with a salary of full one hundred in the army or in the militia, that might be out on a *mulukhgiri* expedition, should keep the sunshade. Within the dominions, a *Subhā* was placed (in charge of) each tract (yielding) one *lakh* of Rupees. [32] To the unsettled provinces on the frontier, a force of infantry, cavalry, and militia, as strong as each place might require should be sent with the *Kārkun* in charge of the *mulukhgiri*.

Similarly lands in the provinces were surveyed, (including forest lands)[50] and their area as calculated in *chāvars*.[51] The length of the (measuring) rod was five cubits and five *muṭhīs*.[52] A cubit should be equal to fourteen *tansus* (तंसु) [53] The length of the rod, in cubits and *muṭhīs*, (should be) eighty *tansus*. Twenty *kāṭhis* (rods) square made one *bighā*. One hundred and twenty *bighās* made one *chāvar*. According to

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[50] Two dlfferent readings are given, धुरंग झाड and दुरंग जाड. Of the first, the word झाड means tree but what धुरंग means I do not know. The second reading may mean, 'painted in thick bi-colour.' Does that signify that the result of the survey had been embodied in a map?

[51] 1 chāvar-120 Bighas.

[52] मुठी, a fist, hence the area covered by a fist of average size.

[53] A *tansu* is equal to $\frac{1}{24}$th गज or yard rod.

this measurement were lands surveyed and measured, and the area ascertained by measuring each village (separately). An estimate was made of the produce (in grain) of each *bighā*, and after dividing the grains into five shares, three of the shares should be given to the *Rāyat*; two shares should be taken for the government. According to this scale should (rent) be realised from the *Rāyat*. New *Rāyats*, (who) will come (to settle), should be given cattle. Grain and money should be given (to them) for (providing themselves with) seeds. Money and grain (should be ?) given for their subsistence (and) the sum should be realised in two or four years according to the means (of the *Rāyats*). In this manner should the *Rāyats* be supported. In every village, from each individual *Rāyat*, should the *Kārkun*, according to the assessment, realise rent in grains from the crops (at the time of each harvest). In the provinces, the *Rāyats* were not to be subject to the jurisdiction and regulations of the *Zamindār*, the *Deśmukh* and the *Desāi*. If they offer to plunder the *Rāyats*, by assuming authority [over them] it does not lie in their power.[54] The Ādil Śāhi, the Nizām Śāhi, and the Mughlāi Deś [55] were conquered (by Śivāji); in the Deś all *Rāyats* used to be under the *Pātīl* and the *Kulkarnī* of those places, and the *Deśmukhs*. They used to make the collection and to pay an unspecified sum (tribute). For a village, where the *Mirāsdārs* took one to two

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[54] The phrase in the text त्यांचे हातीं नाही, literally means that 'it was not in their hands' so it can be rendered as above.

[55] Deś (देश) here does not mean a country but the region above the ghāṭs, that is generally known by that name.

thousand (*Hons* or *Rupees*?), (they) used to render two hundred to three hundred to the government as quit-rent. Therefore the *Mirāsdār* grew wealthy and strengthened (himself) by building bastions, castles (वाडे) and strongholds in the village, and enlisting footmen and musketeers. (They) did not care to wait on the revenue officers. If the revenue officer said that they could pay more revenue [33] the (*Mirāsdārs*) stood up to quarrel with him. In this way (they grew) unruly and forcibly misappropriated (the lands in the Deś). On this account did the Rāje demolish the bastions, the castles and the strongholds, after conquering the Deś. Where there were important forts, he posted his (own) garrison. And nothing was left in the hands of the *Mirāsdārs*. This done, (he) prohibited all that the *Mirāsdārs* used to take at their sweet will, by *Inām* (right) or revenue farming and fixed the rates of the dues in cash and grains, for the *Zamindārs*, as well as of the rights and the perquisites of the *Deśmukh*, the *Deśkuḷkarṇī* and the *Pāṭīl* (and) the *Kuḷkarṇī* according to the yield of the village. The *Zamindārs* were prohibited to build bastioned castles. (They were to) build houses (and) live (therein). Such were the regulations for the provinces.

There were gods and shrines (देवस्थान) [56] at different places in the country, their illumination, (दिवाबत्ती), food offering (नैवेद्य), and ablution (अभिषेक), were properly maintained, (by granting an allowance) according to the importance of the place. The

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[56] देवस्थान literally means a sacred place.

illumination of, and food offerings to the shrines of Mahomedan saints (पीर) and the mosques of the Mahomedans were continued (by state allowance) according to the importance of (each) place. Brahmans reciting the *Vedas* should be placed in comfortable maintenance and learned Brahmans, Vedic scholars, astrologers, ritualists (अनुष्ठानी), ascetics, and pious men should be selected from every village, and a grant of money and grains should be assigned to each in his own village in the *Mahāl*, according to the size of their (respective) families, and the expense of feeding and clothing them; and it should be arranged that the *Kārkun* should convey their allowance to them every year (regularly). The Brahmans, should subsist on this (grant), continue prescribed baths and prayers (स्नान संध्या), pray for the Rāje's welfare and live happily. In this manner the Rājā ruled his kingdom, continuing his enquiries about the forts and the strongholds, the army and the militia, the provinces and the personal staff.

Aurangzib Bādshāh learnt at Delhi the news of the disturbance created in the Mughal territories, and (he) felt much troubled in his mind thinking—"Śivājī has waxed powerful, a Bijāpur force like that under Āfzal Khān, (consisting of) twelve thousand horse (he) has overthrown, he is capturing Bādshāhi forts and strongholds. What steps should be taken with regard to him?" So thought he and having assembled all his *wazirs* and *omraos*, and deciding to send a general with one hundred thousand horse to the south against the

Rāje, [34] and so arranging that Nawāb Śāistā-Khān, who was the second image of the Emperor and a relation (of his), should be sent, called the Nawāb to the presence and questioned him. The Nawāb said, "What is Śivājī? I will take him a prisoner as soon as I go (there). I will win (the war) by capturing his forts, strongholds and dominions." By many effusions of this nature he accomplished (his purpose). After this, the Bādshāh became highly satisfied (with the Khān) and favoured him, by giving him a jewelled crest for his turban (कलगी), a dress of honour, horses, elephants, and ornaments. With him (were sent) one hundred thousand horses and elephants, and besides them, many attendants including clerks (*Mutsuddies*) etc., archers, musketeers (बरखंदाज), Rajputs, and camel-riders (*shutar-ban*) (सतोलीवाले).[57] Similarly artillery drawn by elephants (हत्तीचा तोपखाना), camel swivels (उंटाचा तोपखाना), and horse battery (घोंड्यावडील तोपखाना), lancers, light armed men and infantry, (sent with him) were beyond counting. To the carpet and tent department (*Farāskhānā*) (that went) with the Khān, (were attached) one hundred elephants; similarly (there were) four hundred war elephants; so there were five to six hundred elephants (in all). Similarly (there were) innumerable camels. Besides these, (were sent) shopkeepers for (camp) markets, shells and ammunition, war chariots (carrying rockets,) and artillery; an innumerable force of this nature

[57] Rai Bahadur Gupte think that it should be read as सतेलवाले which means water carriers.

was despatched. The army was (comparable only to) the Rāvaṇa of the *Kaliyuga.* As Rāvaṇa's wealth baffled all calculation, so (did) the innumerable treasure, in cash, gold, silver, *Mohurs*, *Hons* and *Rupees*[58] loaded on elephants, camels, mules and carts, to the value of 320 millions in all, with which (wealth) he started from Delhi. The Nawāb was a (second) image of the Bādshāh. With such an ocean-like army and with all these treasures, he came to attack the Rāje, in the south. When the army encamped, it used to cover an area, 2 *gānvs* in length and 1½ in breadth. (The Khān) reached Puṇā in three months, marching from one station to another.

As soon as the army started from Delhi, the Rāje learnt of it. He was at Rājgaḍ. He assembled all the *Sarkārkuns*, important persons, and the *Sarṇobat*, and questioned them. In the opinion of (them) all—"Peace should be concluded. An interview should be sought. [35] It is not possible to hold out by fighting. What is our force and what is the Delhi army?" Such were (their) reasons.

The Rāje was of opinion (that),—"If peace is decided on, there is no influential Rājput, (with the Khān) as would, (considering the fact that) we are Rājputs and he too is a Rājput, protect the Hindu religion and guard our interests. Śāistā Khān is a Mahomedan, a relation of the Bādshāh; bribe and corruption cannot be practised on him. Nor will the Khān protect

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[58] Rupees and Mohurs alluded to in the text should not be confused with modern coins; as there were Mohurs and Rupees of different weight and value current in Śivājī's time. See Ranade's essay on Mahratta currency.

us. If I meet him in peace, he will bring about (our) destruction. It is injurious to us." So he argued. Then the Rāje formed the brave resolution of fighting to the last and taking what came of it. That day, at night Śrī Bhavānī (entered) the Rāje's body and said (by his mouth),—"Tell my child that he should not be anxious on account of Śāistā Khān's coming. As I killed Āfzal Khān so will I beat him away. You should not be anxious. As you killed Āfzal Khān, so should you enter into Śāistā Khān's camp—after he comes down (here) and fight (there). I shall get him defeated." When the Śrī had said so, the Rāje regained consciousness. The *Kārkun*, who was with (the Rāje), had put the goddess's speech into writing, (then) informed the Rāje of it. The Rāje mustered courage as he learnt that the goddess was favourably disposed. He chose good swordsmen after making selections in (from) his army, the Māwḷe forces, and the personal staff. One thousand select men were set aside from the remaining part of the army, one to two thousand infantry (राऊत) were selected, each individually. The confirmation of the news of Śāistā Khān's arrival at Puṇā was brought and the Rāje descended from Rājgaḍ and marched with his select men and forces. Bābājī Bāpujī and Chimṇājī Bāpujī, Deśkuḷkarṇīs of Tarf Kheḍ, both very intelligent and [36] brave, were favourites of the Rāje. These two brothers were taken in his company. The Rāje formed two detachments under Netājī Pālkar and Moro Pant Peśwā. One detachment (he) formed out of a body of *Pāgā* horse and (placed) Netājī Pālkar (in command of it). The

Peśwā's detachment consisted of the *Śiledārs*, the Māwḷes and the *Haśams*. These two detachments were stationed on both sides of the road, outside Śāistā Khān's camp, and at a distance of about one mile from it. And the Rāje himself took a shield and a sword in his hands, got ready, and took with him 1000 dismounted[59] soldiers (पायउतारा) and started for the Nawāb's camp. Bābājī Bāpujī and Chimṇājī Bāpujī Kheḍkar marched in front (of the column). Behind them went all the men and the Rāje. The Mahomedan army was vast—at various places, in the camp they questioned the Rāje,—(in the following manner), "Whose men are you?" "Who are you?" "Where had you gone?" Bābājī Bāpujī and Chimṇājī Bāpujī replied, as they went on,—"We belong to the army and had gone on sentry duty." Soon after, it was midnight. They went near the Nawāb's tent. A body of one thousand men was got together. They went into the camp and stood (in rows) on two sides. Selecting two hundred men out of them, the Rāje himself cut the screen with a dagger, (कटारी) and entered in, bidding Chimṇājī Bāpujī to accompany him. There were tents within tents, a maze like that of seven different concentric houses, (but the Rāje) tore and rent them all, and went in. The guards were asleep. They were left in ignorance. Then the Rājā himself reached the Nawāb's (private) tent. In his camp there were seven enclosures and female attendants (*Dāyā* ?)[60] in them all. [37].

[59] It does not mean that all these men belonged to the infantry, they went on foot on this particular occasion.

[60] Dāi literally means a nurse. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar thinks that the word may be बाया (ladies) instead of दाया in the original text.

The women, who were there came to know that the enemy had broken into the camp. Apprised of this, Nawāb Śāistā Khān became utterly panic-stricken, put out the candles and lights (and) remained concealed among the women. The Rāje never raised his hands against women. Two *ghaṭkās*[61] passed in that way. Shortly afterwards, the Nawāb found an opportunity, and stepping aside from the women, turned to get (his) sword. The Rāje seized that opportunity and dealt a blow. Three of the Khān's fingers were struck off at once. Then arose a great tumult. The forces, on becoming cognisant of the arrival of the enemy, got prepared on all the four sides. Then the Rāje went out. The guardsmen and the men of the army, began to run about (noisily) enquiring where the enemy was. With them, he also ran forth shouting (like them),—"Where is the enemy ?" and went out. And (he) marched off (after) joining his forces (left) with the *Sarṇobat* and the *Peśwā*. The whole of the enemy forces got ready and began to search in their own camp. No trace of them was found, (the invaders) went away by the direct route and reached their own place.

When day dawned all the *wazirs* came to enquire after the Nawāb. They found that three of the Nawāb's fingers had been lost. Moreover many men had been killed and women and eunuchs wounded. Many men died. Learning this, the

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[61] 1 *ghaṭkā*—24 minutes.

Nawāb said, "The enemy came so far as my private tent, but no *wazir* was vigilant. No one is careful. All have combined in this treason. Now I cannot put my faith in anyone. To-day the Rāje came and cut off my fingers, to morrow he may come again, cut off my head and carry (it) away. Śivājī is very treacherous. He has committed treachery (once); he may commit more. I have no faith in my army. I should now march away hence and go back to Delhi. With these people I should not stay." Making such a short-sighted decision, on the third day he commenced his march back to Delhi.

The Rāje had returned to Rājgaḍ. News was brought from the enemy's camp that "Three of Śāistā Khān's fingers had been severed. His right hand was maimed. Many men moreover were dead. [38] The Nawāb being frightened was running away to Delhi." This news came. Thereupon the Rāje felt highly pleased (and said)—"I have come back victorious. I have punished Śāistā Khān. The Bādshāh gave him the name of *Śāstā* but it was not rightly given. He did not perform any heroic deed to justify his name. By changing the name to *Śāsta* (punished) I have corrected it."[62] So rejoicing, he distributed sugar and caused the canon to boom.

62 व्यर्थ ठेविले नाहीं has no force from what follows. Therefore I accept and translate another reading offered in the foot note by R. B. Sane. (शास्ता) A pun is here made upon the name *Śāstā* punisher and the word (शास्त) punished.

The news of this victory had reached the Bādshāh at Delhi[63] [before the Khān's return]. The Bādshāh wondered in his mind and was at heart dejected, saying "What is the Nawāb's army? And what is meant by the Rājā's personally entering the army and fighting there? Śivājī is not a man, he is a big devil." After many such effusions, he remained silent. Later on being informed that the Nawāb was come, he forbade his visit. First, the expedition had miscarried, secondly, he had been punished. On these two grounds he was forbidden to come for an interview. He was ordered to stay in his own house. The *wazirs* who had gone with him, were brought (to the presence), (and) degraded, and their *jāgirs* were confiscated. They (however) answered (in their defence) that "The *Sardār* had been appointed by the Bādshāh, he (the Bādshāh) had ordered (us) to obey his (their general's) commands. Although this was done, the *Sardār* has returned unsuccessful, what should we do? Now give us a brave *Sardār*. We shall go with him and exert ourselves in the toils of fighting." As soon as such an answer was given, they were all reassured (of the Emperor's favour) and *mansabs* were granted to them. Which *Sardār* should be sent next? Who will return victorious? In selectiug a *Sardār* on such

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[63] Aurangzib heard of the disaster early in May, when on the way to Kāshmīr. As a mark of his displeasure, he transferred Śāistā Khān to the Government of Bengal which was then regarded as a penal province or in Aurangzib's own words "a hell well stocked with bread" in December 1663, without permitting him even to visit the Emperor on his way to his new charge. (Sarkar.)

considerations, choice was made of the Rājput Mirzā Rājā Jaya Sing. He was summoned, the Bādshāh sat with him in the private audience hall (ग़ुसल खाना) and instructed him in various ways,—"Go against Śivājī. Either the Bādshāh in person should go or you should go. Realising this, I am sending you, I shall send an army with you. Capture Śivājī by various artifices and bring him with you." So saying, he gave him more than the normal complement of elephants, horses, shields, swords (men armed with *Firangan*), cross-bow, *jāgir* and promotion, [39] and after greatly extolling him, despatched him with military robes of honour. The Bādshāh conferred the command of the vanguard of the whole army on Dilel Khān, a Pāṭhān noble, *wazir* and a very brave man; five thousand Pāṭhāns were sent with him. Elephants, horses and clothes (of honour) were given to Dilel Khān also. Eighty thousand cavalry were sent with him. Besides these, canon and (जंजाला) artillery of different varieties were given. Pāṭhān and haughty Rājput horsemen were sent. The Bādshāh called (back) Dilel Khān privately by another way, (and) said to him,—"The Mirzā Rājā is a Rājput and Śivājī is a Hindu. (They) may commit some treason. But you are a hereditary servant (खानाजाद)[64] of the Emperor and faithful to us. Keep yourself so informed (of their movements) that you may not be deluded." So said (the Emperor) and despatched (Dilel Khān.)

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[64] Rao Bahadur Gupte thinks that खानाजाद means one brought up in the family.

They started from Delhi as Śāistā Khān had previously done, with a (mighty) host. A cloud of dust spread from the earth to the sky, such was the ocean like (immensity) of the army, that started for the south. They marched stage by stage. Where they encamped, the army, used to cover (an area of) 1½ *gānvs* in length and one *gānv* in breadth. Then Jaya Sing Rāje argued within himself thus, "Śivājī is intensely perfidious, full of devices and a brave soldier. He personally killed Āfzal Khān. He entered Śāistā Khān's tent and fought (him) there. How can success come to us (in a contest with him)?" So thought he. Then great Brahman priests suggested (to him) the means. "A religious rite should be solemnised to please the *Devī* (देवी goddess) and then success will come to you." So they said. Then the Mirzā Rājā replied—"One *koṭī*[65] of *Chandī* and eleven *koṭis* of *Linga* should be made (and worshipped). For the fulfilment of my desire prayers (जप) should be offered to propitiate Bagaḷāmukhī Kālarātrī[66] (वगलामुखी कालरात्री). These performances should be made." Four hundred Brahmans were employed in these performances and they were celebrated every day. Two krores of Rupees were set apart for these performances. The performances were completed after continual celebration for three months. Final oblations of the performance were made and the Brahmans

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[65] 1 koti = 10 millions.

[66] Bagaḷāmukhī is one of the 10 Mahāvidyās and कालरात्री here is apparently Kālī to be worshipped at midnight.

were gratified with Dakshinā and charity gifts. Then he marched on, stage by stage.

[40] The Mahārājā was at Rājgaḍ; and the couriers and spies came to him. They submitted the news that, "Jaya Sing Mirzā Rājā is coming with an army of eighty thousand horse, with Dilel Khān (and his) five thousand Pāṭhāns." Hearing this the Rājśrī fell into (serious) deliberations. He summoned his *Kārkuns* to the presence, and questioned (them). They all said—"Āfzal Khān was killed, and Śāistā Khān was surprised. They were unwary Mahomedans. The devices adopted [against them] were also new, but these are now well-known to the Rājput. He will not allow you to hoodwink him. Peace should be concluded with him."[67] So said (they). The Rāje said that—"The Rājputs will be somehow won over, but this Dilel Khān is a great scoundrel (हरामजादा) and a faithless (rogue) (वेइमान). He is one of the Bādshāh's favourites. That is not at all good. What he will do, I cannot divine. If he were not with (Jaya Sing), my desire would have been fulfilled. Well! But what about it now? The kingdom is Śrī's (goddess). The burden has been placed on Śrī. She will do what she likes." So he said. Then that day passed. The next day, Śrī Bhavānī came (over him) and said, "Oh child! the occasion this time is a formidable one. I shall not kill Jaya Sing. He will not sue for peace. You will have to see him. After an interview, you will have to go to Delhi. Serious difficulties will come (upon you) there. But I will go in your company.

[67] Sardārs do not speak in the second person to the King.

I will put forth various endeavours, protect the child and bring him back. I shall give him success. Do not be anxious. Tell my child so. The kingdom I have conferred on my child as a boon, has not been granted for one generation only. For twenty-seven generations it has been granted. The kingdom of the Deccan (extending) to the Narmadā has been conferred (on you). Care for the kingdom is mine. Realise it fully. Whatever faults of action my child may commit I have to rectify. Do not be anxious on any account." So saying the goddess disappeared. The scribes had put those words in writing. After that, the Rāje regained consciousness. [41] Then the words of the goddess were delivered to him by all. Thereupon the Rāje felt highly satisfied and mustered courage.

In the meantime Jaya Sing came midway between the forts of Purandar and Koṇḍāṇā, and encamped (there). And (he) sent a messenger and letters to the Rāje—(with the following message)—"You are a *Śisodiā* Rājput.[68] You and I are one and the same. Come for an interview. I shall secure your welfare in every way." Letters were sent with this proposal. These letters came to Rājgaḍ. After reading (them) the Rāje made an enquiry about who should be sent as envoy, and on questioning (people), (it was suggested that), Raghunāth Paṇḍit, a great scholar, who was near by, should be sent. It is a business with a Rājput (and) then he is a great scholar of the *Śāstras*. The Rājput also knows the *Śāstra*.

[68] Śivājī's descent from the *Śisodiā* seems to have been a current fiction. See notes in the appendix.

He (Ragunāth) will suit him (the Rājput) well. Considering so, he conferred the title of Paṇḍit Rāv (पंडितराव) on Raghunāth Rāv. And with clothes and ornaments (the Rāje) sent him to the Mirzā Rājā. He went to the enemy's camp.

Learning (the news) that the Rāje's envoy was come, the Mirzā Rājā, received him with great honour. Jaya Sing said—"The Bādshāh of Delhi is very powerful; in hostility with him, (success in) the end cannot be secured. The Rāje should come to meet me. I shall take him along with me, and procure for him an interview with the Bādshāh. As Rām Sing is my son, so are you; I shall not do you harm." (In confirmation) of this (offer), he handed over the Bel and Tuḷśī leaves, (वेलतुळसी) (to Raghunāth) after performing the *pūjā* (पूजा) of *Śrīkarpur Gaur.*[69] And he gave robes to the Paṇḍit Rāv and sent robes and ornaments [with him] for the Rāje. And he sent the (following) verbal message, (through the Paṇḍit Rāv?) "Come to meet me. For six or four months defend (your) forts, show (your) power, then come to see me." Bidding him to do so, (he) dismissed Raghunāth Paṇḍit Rāv secretly.

He came back to the Rāje at Rājgaḍ, and reported the news. Thereupon, the Rāje became pleased. [42] (He) sent injunctions to the forts and the strongholds at different places and had (them) all strengthened. And verbal orders were sent to various places for defending forts.

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[69] श्रीकपूर गौर must have been the family god of the Mirzā Rājā. Both the word गौर and कपूर (camphor) signify white complexion, and the god meant was Śiva.

When Dilel Khān learnt (the news) that the Rāje's envoy had come to Jaya Sing's camp, he felt distressed at heart. "At last the Hindus will unite with the Hindus, and spoil the work." Saying so, Dilel Khān came to meet the Mirzā Rājā, the next day. And (he) began to say—"Why are you sitting quiet? There are two forts, Koṇḍāṇā and Purandar near the camp. I shall storm Purandar and capture the fort. You should take the fort of Koṇḍāṇā. If we go on capturing the forts, Śivājī will come (to make submission)." When (he had) spoken thus, the Mirzā Rājā said,—"If the fort comes (to our possession), (it will be) well. If not, our reputation will be gone. Therefore we should not be engaged with forts. The country should be conquered. If forts are prevented from being provisioned, they will of themselves, come (into our possession)." As he said so, Dilel Khān, got up in anger (and) walked off. "I shall go just now and capture Purandar. Take Koṇḍāṇā if you like." So saying (he) got up, returned to his camp, beat his kettle-drums took a shield and a *firang*, marched to the foot of Purandar, encamped there, and delivered an assault upon the fort. Five thousand Pāṭhāns got down from horseback, and ten thousand *Bailes*[70] attached to the cannon were dismounted. The *Pendhāris*[71] the light troop (*Āḍhatyārīs*,) and the *Khalāśīs*, twenty thousand men (in all), great and small, got

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[70] The *Bailes* were footmen and could not therefore dismount.

[71] The *Penḍhāris* were allowed to accompany an army and participate in the plundering of enemy lands and enemy camps.

down,[72] (and) continued to approach the fort in a body.

At that time, a famous man named Murār Bājī Prabhu was the commander of the forces at Purandar. With him there were one thousand men. [43] Besides these, there were one thousand men of the fort (garrison). There were thus two thousand men. Making his choice from them, Murār Bājī took with him seven hundred men (and) rushed on Dilel Khān below the fort. Dilel Khān had been ascending the fort on all the four sides with a large army of five thousand strong Pāṭhāns, besides *B·iles* and such other men. (The Mārāṭhā soldiers) went forward and became everywhere mixed with them. A severe and frightful battle took place. The Māwḷes and Murār Bājī himself fought with extreme obstinacy. Five hundred Pāṭhāns succumbed (on the spot). Murār Bājī himself, with sixty men cut his way through, as far as the entrance of Dilel Khān's camp. Dilel Khān left the gate and fell back; and ordering (his) men made the artillery, and the archers, the lancers and one thousand light-armed men (*Āḍhatyārīs*) to fight (Murār Bājī's men). Out of them (the) sixty men fell. Murār Bājī Prabhu, with a shield and *firang*, rushed on Dilel Khān. "Men cherished by the favour of the Mahārājā are dead. How can I show my face [to him] now? (I should) therefore rush on straight."

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[72] The *utārā* dismounting, or fighting on foot, was a peculiarity of Indian horsemen of which they were very proud. It was specially affected among Indian Mahomedans by the Barah Sayyads—Irvine, Army of the Indian Moghuls, p. 297.

Deciding thus (he) came upon the Khān. Then the Khān said—"Take thou a *kaul* (assurance of safety)" (thou art) a very intrepid soldier. I shall promote thee. As he said so, Murār Bājī replied—"What is thy *kaul*. Do I, a soldier of Śivājī Rāje, take thy *kaul*?" (Saying so) he rushed straight upon the Khān. As he (Murār Bājī), was going to deal a blow with his sword, the Khān took a bow in his own hand, shot an arrow and despatched him. He fell. Then the Khān (in wonder) put his fingers in his mouth, "Such a soldier did God create!" In this strain did he wonder. Three hundred men died with Murār Bājī. The remaining four hundred men went back to the fort (above). Dilel Khān took the turban off his own head. And as he moved towards the fort (he) took (an oath) "I shall put on my turban when I have captured the fort." With this resolution he went forward. He came below the portals of the fort (and) halted there forming a rampart of shields. The garrison of the fort [44] continued to fight resolutely without taking into account that Murār Bājī had fallen—"What then if one Murār Bājī (alone) is dead? We are as brave (as he was). We will fight with similar courage."

The Rāje at Rājgaḍ learnt the news, "Dilel Khān has beleaguered Purandar. Murār Bājī has fallen. Three hundred men have died in battle." Learning this he felt much troubled with (these) thoughts in his mind,—"When Dilel Khān will capture this fort, (then) the remaining forts will surrender voluntarily. Then there will be no grace in my going for an interview. It is proper, (that) peace should be concluded by

meeting (Jaya Sing) and offering with my (own) hands what forts have to be given up, while the fort still holds out." Therefore (he) sent Raghunāth Bhaṭ Paṇḍit Rāv to the Mirzā Rājā (with the following message)—"I am coming to see you presently. I shall be lowered if our (हलकाई ?)[73] interview takes place after Dilel Khān has captured the fort." Sending this message orally, (he) arranged for going for an interview. The Paṇḍit Rāv went and met Jaya Sing (and) informed him of the news. Then he (Jaya Sing) too, considering (the proposal) to be well, repeated his oaths and solemn undertaking (क्रिया).[74] And the Paṇḍit Rāv came to Rājgaḍ. As soon as he was come, the Rāje himself, took one thousand select men with him. He made obeisance to Śrī Śambhu and Bhavānī, and he saluted (and) met the *Mātuśrī* (mother). He saluted good ascetic Brahmans. Receiving the blessings of all he descended below the fort and started. All at once he went into the camp of the Mirzā Rājā. The Paṇḍit Rāv went ahead, and reported that the Rāje was come. As soon as he learnt this news, Jaya Sing came himself on foot outside the portals.[75]

[73] The word in the text as read by R. B. Ṣane does not give any meaning. Rai Bahadur Gupte suggests हलकाई as an alternative, which I have accepted.

[74] A क्रिया is a solemn oath accompanied by some religious rites. As for instance the Mirzā Rājā performed a *Kriyā* when he handed over Bel and Tulsī leaves. Sometimes gods are simply asked to be witnesses to the undertaking.

[75] Jaya Sing did not come out to receive Śivājī. He sent his Secretary Udairaj and and Ugrasen Kachhwa to meet him on the way. Sabhāsad is also wrong in thinking that Dilel Khān and Jaya Sing had any difference about the military transactions. Jaya Sing concerted his plans with conspicuous ability and Dilel gave his whole-hearted support; but Dilel was naturally offended at Śivājī's surrender to Jaya Sing: as he thus lost the

The Rāje descended from the palanquin and met (him). They went and sat together on the same seat. And the Rāje began to say to the Mirzā Rājā,—"As Rām Sing is to you so am I. As you will protect him, so should you protect me." So saying, he took his seat. Then Jaya Sing said—"That is true. I am a Rājput, you and I are of the same tribe. My head will go first, before any [harm] can be done to you." After speaking such (words of) assurance, (Jaya Sing) took an oath. Then the Rāje said—"I shall give you what forts you may want, call back Dilel Khān I shall give you (the fort of) Purandar. I shall raise your standard (there). But to a Mahomedan [45] I shall not give the credit." On (his) making such professions, Jaya Sing felt pleased and said, "Dilel Khān is proud. (He) is in the Bādshāh's favour. One has to make obeisance to him with (his) hands. You yourself will have to go for an interview with Dilel Khān. I am sending a Rājput relation (of mine) with you, he will bring you (back) after conducting you (to the interview), you should not be anxious. If your hair is touched, I will die with an army of fifty thousand Rājputs." Hearing (this) the Rāje began to say—"I am Śivājī. Do I take Dilel Khān into account? As you have ordered I shall go and meet (him)." So saying (he) took leave. The Mirzā Rājā sent with him[76]

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credit of capturing Purandar. See Sarkar's Śivājī, pp. 150-151. Prof. Sarkar has based his account on the official correspondence of Jaya Sing, Mannucci however partly agrees with Sabhāsad. See Storia, ed. Irvine, Vol. II, p. 120.

[76] Śivājī was sent with Rājā Rāi Sing to wait on Dilel Khān who presented ivājī with two horses, a sword, a jewelled dagger and two pieces of precious clo th—See Sarkar's Śivājī, pp. 154-155.

Subhān Sing, his māmā, (maternal uncle) a great warrior of immense strength, brave and twice as powerful as Dilel Khān. Dilel Khān also knows him. Saying, "Take care of the Rāje and bring him back; I send (him) relying on thee" (the Mirzā Rājā) despatched him. Subhān Sing took with him fifty Rājputs, his peers (in valour) and started. The Rāje went where Dilel Khān was near the gates of Purandar. Then he sent intimation to Dilel Khān to say "Śivājī Rāje has come and interviewed the Mirzā Rājā. He is coming to see you." Learning this Dilel Khān burnt (with anger) at heart. Biting his lips in anger (he thought) "I have not yet achieved success (in the affair) of the fort of Purandar. The negotiations were not held in my presence. The Rājput has got the credit of it." Vexed on this account, he then came forward, and in anger violently held the Rāje fast and his embrace lasted for a *Ghaḍi*.[77] Dilel Khān was very stout. (He had) the strength of an elephant or perhaps more. He ate as much as an elephant. Every day he consumed the same measure of (food) as an elephant eats. In his body he was a second Heḍamba Rākshasa.[78] So huge (was he). He, in his rage violently held the Rāje fast (in his arms) angrily for a *Ghaṭkā*. But the *Sardār* was powerful (and) equally stout, he took no notice of it. Then the hug of welcome loosened, they sat together, on one side, near a big bolster (लोडा) on the other side of the bolster sat Subhān Sing. Dilel Khān

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[77] *Ghaḍi* घडि = 20 minutes.

[78] Heḍamba was the brother of Hiḍimbā—a wife of Bhīm the Indian Hercules. Bhīm killed Heḍamba in a single wrestling combat.

kept a dagger near (him) (and) sat with his hands on it. And [46] angrily asked Subhān Singh, "Are you come with the Rāje?" So (he) asked. Then nodding in affirmation, Subhān Sing replied—"Khānjī! the Rāje is come to you. Now, (we shall) give you what forts you want to-morrow. You should get down and come to the camp. Such is the order of the Mirzā Rājā." When this was said, he (Dilel Khān) felt much disappointed that his intentions were not fulfilled. "You are my superior. I shall come according to your order. But to-day I shall capture this fort for you. I shall come after raising the standard (on it)." On his saying so, Subhān Singh began to urge,—"The fort has been given to us. You should come." Thereupon, Dilel Khān got down and came to his private tent. (Guards) were appointed to watch the fort. The Rāje was sent away with (the usual presents of) betel leaves. "You two should together go to the Mirzā Rājā. He is the senior Commander. I am agreeable to what he will do." (So said he.)

As soon as he had said so, the Rāje and Subhān Sing came to the Mirzā Rājā. (They) reported the news. Then Jaya Sing and the Rāje dined in the same line (**एक पत्ती भोजन केले**). A tent was given to the Rāje for residing. At night the two held a consultation. "All the forts should be ceded to the Bādshāh, and (you) should go to Delhi."—As soon as this was proposed, the Rāje began to say—"Twenty-seven of my forts I shall cede,[79] and we

[79] Jaya Sing in his letter to the Bādshāh says—

'We came to this agreement :—(*a*) That 23 of his forts, the lands of which yielded 4 *lakhs* of *hun* as annual revenue, should be annexed to the Empire;

—myself and my son Sambhājī, shall go to interview the Bādshāh. After making the interview, I should be appointed against the Bādshāhis of the south, the Ādilśāhi, the Kutabśāhi and the Nizāmśāhi, of this region. I shall conquer the three Bādshāhis. One Bādshāhi (is) the Nizāmśāhi, that has (already) been conquered. Two Bādshāhis I shall conquer for you." So he proposed. The Mirjā Rājā agreed. And (he) marched from Puṇā. The Rāje had Sambhājī Rāje (also) brought. Twenty-seven forts were ceded to the Mughals, whose standards were raised (thereon). Rājgaḍ and the other forts, together with Moro Pant *Peśwā* and Niḷo Pant [47] *Majumdār* and Netājī Pālkar *Sarṇobat* [80] were placed in his Lady Mother's charge. And he made a compact that he himself should go to Delhi, and interview the Bādshāh. Then, Jaya Sing Rājā sent his agent to inform the Bādshāh. With him (an envoy) of the Rājā should go, and on this service Raghunāth Pant [81] Korḍe—brother-in-law of Sonājī Pant *Ḍabīr* was deputed. These two

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and (*b*) that 12 of his forts including Rajgarh, with an annual revenue of 1 *lakh* of *hun*, should be left to Shiva, on service and loyalty to the Imperial throne. Sarkar's Shivaji, p. 152.

The following are the forts ceded :—

(1) Rudramala or Vajragarh. (2) Purandar. (3) Kondana. (4) Rohjira. (5) Lohgarh. (6) Isagarh. (7) Tanki. (8) Tikona in *Konkan*. (9) Mahuli. (10) Muranjan. (11) Khirdrug. (12) Bhandardrug. (13) Tulsikhul. (14) Nardurg. (15) Khaigarh or Aukola. (16) Marggarh or Atra. (17) Kohaj. (18) Basant. (19) Nang. (20) Karnala. (21) Songarh. (22) Mangarh. (23) Khandkala near Kondana. See Sarkar's Shivaji, pp. 156-157.

[80] This is inaccurate. Netājī had been deprived of his command in 1660.

[81] Rai Bahadur Gupte says that the Prabhu Kāyasthas, to which caste Korḍe belonged, do not add Pant after them ; the name therefore should be Raghunāth Rāv. But it appears from Old Bakhars that they indulged in that privilege in Śivājī's time.

were then sent. The Rāje sent a petition to the Emperor (with the message) "I am coming for an interview." He wrote and sent a letter to this effect. After this the Rāje went, in the company of the Mirzā Rājā, with his own forces towards Bijāpur. On the march, the Mirzā Rājā and Śivājī Rāje sat on the same *hawdā*, and proceeded (on their journey). All the *wazirs* used to come and salute them. Dilel Khān would not salute. The reason was, that the Rāje and he (Jaya Sing) were at the same place (together on the same seat); how then could he salute? On this ground, he would not salute. Then peace was made with Bijāpur also. Then they were to have gone together to Delhi.

But to this proposal, the Mirzā Rājā said—"The Bādshāh is very expert in devices, (and) is faithless. If you and I go together, and (some) treachery is committed against both of us, what should (we) do? I shall go there afterwards. I shall stay at Aurangābād,—You go to Delhi. My son Rām Sing is at the court. He is also a man of equal weight [with me]. I am sending (verbal) instructions to him. Get the interview through him. Obtain (the grant) of a *saranjām* and come to the south. After you have started from Delhi I shall go there. Till then I shall remain away. (So that) the Bādshāh may not commit treachery against you, after you have met him. Giving counsels in this manner, (he) then sent a letter to Rām Sing (and) adjusting (everything) properly, and despatched the Rāje. (Following is) the list of the *Kārkuns* and personal attendants—the Rāje took with him—

Nirājī Rāūjī *Śāhāṇā* [82] Trimbakjī Sondev, son of Sonājī Pant (item 1) Māṇko Harī Sabnīs (1) Dattājī Trimbak (1) Hirojī Farzand (1) Rāghojī Mitrā (1) Dāvljī Gāḍge (1).

Māwḷes 1,000 one thousand, Lashkar (forces—*Sawār* according to a different reading) 3,000 three thousand, [48] and such like. With these, the Rāje came to Rājgaḍ, took leave of all and took with him the above attendants. And the Rāje and his son—these two—proceeded to Delhi [83]—stage by stage. The Bādshāh learning that the Rāje was coming for an interview, sent instructions to all his *Faujdārs* and Mahāl Mokāsāholders.—"Śivājī Rāje is coming to pay homage. Wherever he may encamp, the *Faujdār* of the place should wait on him. (And) supply food and drink as may be necessary. He should be honoured in the same manner as the Shāhzādās."

Such orders were sent. Then, (wherever) the Rāje broke his journey, the *Faujdārs* used to meet him there, and supply him with food and drink and what expense was necessary. In this manner, (he) reached Delhi in two months.

The Bādshāh, learning that the Rāje was come, sent Rām Sing forward, to receive him. Rām Sing came and met (the Rāje). Raghunāth Pant Korḍe, (who) had been previously sent as an envoy, also

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[82] Persian *Śāhāṇā* means a *Kotwal*.

[83] He went to Agra and not to Delhi. See Sarkar's Shivaji, p. 171. Prof. Sarkar however does not give any reason for discarding Sabhāsad's view. Kincaid and Parasnis, Hist. of the Maratha People, Vol. I, p. 117.

The credit of first pointing out that Sivaji went to Agra, however, belongs to Prof. Sarkar.

came and met (the Rāje). (He) reported every news about the Bādshāh. "Outwardly he expressed satisfaction and pleasure, but what is in the Bādshāh's mind we do not know." So said (Koṛde). Having interviewed (the Rāje) Rām Sing came to the Bādshāh (and) reported the news. The Bādshāh allotted a big independent house in its own garden (*havelī*) and named the place *Śivapurā* and there the Rāje took up his residence. At an auspicious moment, he set out to see the Bādshāh. The Bādshāh assembled his *Darbār*, sat on the Royal throne, keeping five weapons near (him)[84] girding his waist, and putting on a steel armour. Similarly he made great warriors of (known) valour to stand near the throne, and (stationed) two thousand (men) in its neighbourhood. Likewise all the *wazirs* were assembled in readiness, in the Hall of Public Audience (आमखास). In his mind (the Bādshāh) argued—"Śivājī is not an ordinary man, he is the Devil. He killed Āfzal Khān at (a friendly) interview. What should be done, if in a like manner, he jumps on the throne, and makes a treacherous attack on me?" So thinking, he sat prepared for every contingency [49]. (Then) he called the Rāje for the interview. Rām Sing conducted the Rāje, and his son Sambhājī Rāje, and a few men (literally ten men दहाजण) *Kārkuns* and near relatives of the Rāje, to the interview. *Nazar* was offered to the Bādshāh. The Bādshāh said,—"Come! Śivājī Rāje!" As soon as he said so, the Rāje offered three salutes.

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[84] This however was an ordinary practice and not a measure of precaution.

In his mind he meant—the first (for) Śrī Śambhu Mahādev, the second (for) Śrī Bhavānī, the third (for) the Mahārājā his father;—in this manner were the salutes offered. And the Bādshāh ordered him to stand on the right side, near (and below) Jasvant Sing Mahārāj, the Rājā of Navkoṭ of Mārvāḍ. The Rāje and his son stood (accordingly). (The Rāje) asked Rām Sing—"Who is the neighbour in front of us?" Rām Sing answered—"Mahārāj Jasvant Sing." On hearing so, the Rāje got angry (and) said—"An *Omrao* like Jasvant Sing, whose back my soldiers have seen! why should I stand below him?" Saying so in his anger, he began to beg of Ram Sing (his) dagger, (threatening) to kill the Mahārājā with the dagger—that hung by Rām Sing's waist. Then Rām Sing began to counsel him to be patient. When these words were being exchanged, the Bādshāh became aware [of the tumult]. He asked—"What is the matter?" Rām Sing replied—"The tiger is a wild animal of the forests, he feels hot. Something has happened." As he said so, fear grew in the Bādshāh's mind. There was no knowing what might happen. Therefore the Bādshāh said to Rām Sing—"Go (back) with the Rāje to (his) quarters. To-morrow (we) will have an interview at leisure." As he said so, the Rāje, his son, and Rām Sing and the Rāje's men, all returned to his quarters. When the Rāje was gone, the Bādshāh felt relieved. "A great evil is over. I and Śivāji have seen each other"—So saying he remained (silent).

After the Rāje had returned to his residence, he and Rām Sing sat (together), (and the Rāje) said—

"Who is the Bādshāh? I am Śivaji! Am I to be made to stand below Jasvant! [50] The Bādshāh does not understand anything (of propriety)." So said (he). Rām Sing said, "Do not go to the interview. As you have come, keep up appearances and (then) go back. It will be a great gain to us, if you can safely go from here." So saying, Rām Sing went to his own *havelī*.

The Rāje summoned his *Kārkuns*, courtiers, (हुजुरे) and Raghunāth Pant Korḍe, (and) asked (them)—"What step should be taken next? The Emperor's policy is known (to us). How to achieve success in it, (against the policy), secure leave of the Emperor (and) go hence? The Bādshāh will not give (us) leave, unless (we) undertake to render some service to him." Then, Raghunāth Pant was sent with the (following) instructions—"You should go to the Bādshāh to-morrow, and petition (him to the following effect). We have no other interest except that of Your Majesty.[85] I have, without any suspicion, come with my son also, for an interview. Services should be accepted from (this) servant. I undertake to conquer for His Majesty, the two Bādshāhis,—the whole of the Ādilśāhi and the whole of the Kutub Śāhi, in the south. (The Bādshāh) should reflect on the services rendered by the other governors (subāh) that he sends and my services [in comparison]. After making some such professions, (suggest that) if I am called for a private interview in the (private) Council chamber, I shall meet (the Emperor) and communicate

[85] *Swāmī* in the text literally means 'master.'

something (important). Petition to this effect." So he instructed. Thereupon Raghunāth Pant Korḍe went to the Bādshāh, the next day, wrote the petition as instructed, and submitted it. The Bādshāh (however) entertained suspicion in his mind after reading the petition. And he wrote on the back of the petition, (as) an answer,—"Wait, I will do what you have asked for." Such was the answer (he) wrote. He (Raghunāth) came, and told the Rāje to wait. "Then there is suspicion (in his mind), he has not given a frank answer;" so the Rāje inferred. On that very day, Śāistā Khān sent (the following) verbal message to Jāfar Khān the *Dewān*,—since the reign of the late Bādshāh he had been *Dewān*, but the administration was conducted by his deputy, ——"Śivājī is intensely perfidious. (He) is learned (in the black arts). [51] When he entered into my camp, he jumped over forty yards and entered into the house; the Bādshāh should not call such a man to an interview. If he is called, he will make a treacherous attack, jumping over a space of forty or fifty yards." He sent words (to this purport). Thereupon Jāfar Khān made this information known to the Bādshāh. The Bādshāh offended at heart regarded it as true. (He) entertained strong suspicions in his mind.

The next day the Rāje learnt that Jāfar Khān, the *Dewān*, had slandered him before the Bādshāh. Learning this, he sent Raghunāth Pant Korḍe to Jāfar Khān with the message, "I am coming to see you." (With this message) he sent (him). After making deliberations in his mind, for a long time, he

said,—"All right! let him come." So the Rāje went to see Jāfar Khān. (He) honoured him greatly, and spoke something about (his) *saranjām*, but he did not like it. (Jāfar Khān) said outwardly—'very well'. His wife was Śāistā Khān's sister, she sent words from the harem,——"Śāistā Khān's fingers were cut off. Āfzal Khān was killed. Śivājī will likewise kill you too. Give him leave soon." Then (he) gave the Rāje leave, with robes (of honour). "I shall petition the Bādshāh and get (you a) *saranjām*."—So he said. Then the Rāje came to his quarters. "Jāfar-Khān also, has not spoken frankly. Well! Whatever the Śrī will do is right." So saying he remained silent.

The next day, the Bādshāh appointed Fulād Khān, *Kotwāl*, (with) five thousand cavalry and infantry (to be) near the Rāje and (gave him the following) order, "Thou shouldst stay around the Rāje's quarters keeping careful watch (over it)." Thereupon the *Kotwāl* came and pitched (his) tent. Then the Rāje became scared He began to feel distressed. He lamented much, holding Sambhājī Rāje to his breast. [52] Nirājī Pant, and Dattājī Pant, and Trimbak Pant consoled (him) in various ways. Then the Rāje said—"What device should we now resort to?" While (they were) so deliberating, night fell. Then Śrī Bhavānī came in a dream and showed herself (saying), "Do not be anxious. I shall take thee back hence, with (thy) son, casting confusion on all (thy) foes, by means of the bewitching weapon (मोहनास्त्र). Do not be anxious." In this manner (did the goddess) assure (him) of safety. Then the Rāje

awoke, told his relatives (all about the dream), and felt secure.

The next day (he) got by purchase various kinds of sweets.[86] Obtaining bamboo baskets (he) filled ten baskets with sweets employing two porters for each basket, (and) inserting a rod of wood in the middle, (he) sent the sweets to the *wazirs*. The men of the watch asked,—"Whose baskets (are these)? Where do they go?" The porters answered—"The Rāje has sent sweets to a few *wazirs*. They opened one or two (baskets) (and) found (there were) really sweets. Then (they) let (them) pass. This process was continued everyday. Then after eight or four days he instructed his *sawārs* and some *Kārkuns* to get away. Then they all fled.

Then one day the Rāje and his son crouched in a basket. Sending baskets before and behind (them), they set out, seated in the middle one. At that time, the Rāje took off all his garments dressed Hirojī Farzand (in them) and made him sleep on his cot. His uncovered hand alone was left visible outside. And (he) was laid wrapped in a coverlet. And a boy was kept for massaging (his limbs). Having selected a place in a village, three *cosses* beyond Delhi, (he) had previously sent the *Kārkuns* attached to him (there). And the two of them set out seated in a basket. The men of the watch, inspected one or two of the foremost baskets (by) opening (them), (and) let the others pass without opening. Arriving at a place two *cosses* outside the city, they

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[86] Fruits or sweets, for मेवा in Mārāṭhī stands for both.

left the baskets, set out on foot, and went to the village, where the *Kārkuns* were. (The Rāje) took the *Kārkuns* with (him). All of them sat in a jungle and (there) argued,—[53] "If we go straight to home[87] now, an army will be sent in pursuit, turning to that direction. We should not go towards (home). We should go to the opposite side of Delhi, we should go towards Benares." So deciding, the Rāje, and Sambhājī Rāje, and Nirājī Rāūjī, and Dattājī Trimbak, and Rāgho Mitrā Mārāṭhā,—(these men) left (the jungle) (and) set out. The rest were told to go where they liked. (The Rāje) himself, the prince, and the other men, (who were) *Kārkuns*, besmeared their bodies with ashes and putting on the disguise of *Fakirs* went towards Muttra.

In the meantime, Hirojī Farzand, was lying on the cot, at Delhi. For four quarters (*prahas*) of the night, and three quarters of the next day, he lay like that. Fulād Khān's watchmen, coming into the room, found that the Rāje was sleeping wrapped in a coverlet, (and) the boy was massaging his legs. The men asked the boy, "(Why) is the Rāje sleeping (so) long to-day ?" The boy answered,—"(His) head aches." Seeing it, the men retired. In that manner Hirojī lay for three quarters of the day. When there was (only) one quarter of the day left Hirojī got up, put on his wrapper, breeches, and turban and came out with the boy (with him.) To the enquiries of the watchmen Hirojī answered—"(His)

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[87] *Deś* is the word used in the original, which means native country or simply country.

head aches. If any one tries to go into his room, forbid him. I am fetching medicine." So instructing the watchmen, the two went out. (Hirojī) went to Rām Sing's camp[88], told him the news in private, and getting out thence, took the road for the Deccan.

Then Rām Sing went to see the Bādshāh. He submitted to the Bādshāh,—"Śivājī had come through our mediation. The Bādshāh has set (on him) separate guards. I have no concern (with him)." The Bādshāh answered—"You have no concern. [54] He is a servant of the Bādshāh, and the Bādshāh will look after his welfare. You have nothing to do with him." (When the Bādshāh had) said so, Rām Sing returned to his quarters, after making (his) obeisance.

It was the ninth hour of the day. At the ninth hour (तास) the watchmen reflected—"There is no concourse of men to-day. The servant says that the Rāje is unwell. After that no one comes or goes, what is the matter?" So they went into the room to see (but) then, there was no one on the cot. It so appeared, that the Rāje had fled. Finding this, Fulād Khān reported the news to the Bādshāh,—"The Rāje was in the room. Though we had been paying repeated visits of inspection he suddenly disappeared. Whether he has fled, or entered into the earth, or gone (up) in the sky—we cannot surmise: We have been (very) close

[88] According to some *Bakhars* Hirojī was thrown into prison and cruelly tortured.

(to him). He vanished in our view. (We) do not know what device he took." As he reported so, the Bādshāh felt astonished and was much perplexed. And issuing injunctions to the (whole of his) army, (he) sent two *lakhs* and sixty thousand *sawārs*, to search (for Śivājī), in eight directions. He told (them), "Śivājī is clever in devices. He must be going under some disguise. You should therefore look through the disguises of the *Jangams*,[88] *Yogīs*, *Sanyāsīs*, *Tāpsīs*, *Bairāgīs*, *Nānakpanthīs* *Gorakhpanthīs*, *Fakirs*, Brahmans, beggars (कंगाल), *Brahmachārīs*, *Paramphanses*, mad men, and various others, detect the Rāje and bring him a prisoner. Having given such hints, (he) despatched them. The soldiers rode in four directions. And the Bādshāh cherished the suspicion in his mind, (that)—"The Rāje must be hiding

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[88] जंगम = Śaiva lingayet Sanyāsīs. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar gives the following account of the origin of the Jangamas. "Basava (the Prime Minister of Vijjanarāy) had another sister named Nāgalambikā who had a son named Chenna Basava or Basava the younger. In concert with him Basava began to propound a new doctrine and a new mode of worshipping Śiva, in which the Liṅga and the Nandin or bull were predominant. He speedily got a large number of followers, and ordained a great many priests, who were called Jangamas. This took place towards the close of the 11th century A. D. *** (After Basava's death Chenna Basava) became the sole leader of the Liṅgāyats; but even before, his position was in some respect superior to that of Basava. The religious portion of the movement was under his sole direction, and it was he who shaped the creed of the sect. In him the *Praṇava* or sacred syllable *Om* is said to have become incarnate to teach the doctrines of the Vīraśaiva faith to Basava, and according to Chenna-Basava-Purāna, "Chenna Basava was Śiva, Basava, Vṛishabha or Śiva's bull, (the Nandin), Bijjala the door keeper; Kalyāṇa Kailāsa; and Śiva worshippers (or Liṅgāyats), the Śiva host.—Early History of the Dekkan, 2nd Ed., pp. 94, 95. This new creed spread widely among the trading classes, which before were the chief supporters of Jainism, *ibid*, p. 96.

some where in the city, and at night (he) will commit some treachery." Accordingly, after making investigations, (and) appointing careful watchmen, he sat (all night) awake on his cot. Men with girt waist were kept near (him) night and day. In this manner he lived.

Then the Rāje and the prince went on by stages and reached Muttra. (While) looking for some acqauintances in Muttra, (they found) Kṛshṇājī Pant and Kāśī Rāū and Visājī [55] Pant, three Brahman brothers, brothers-in-law of Moro Pant *Peśwā*,—whom Nirājī Pant knew. The party went [to their house] met them, and related the news. They summoned resolution and agreed (to his proposal). Thereupon the Rāje, left (his) son Sambhājī Rāje in their house, (with the following instruction)—"I shall send you a messenger and a letter, intimating that I have reached home in my own kingdom.[89] Come home with the prince, all (three) brothers with your families. I shall maintain you in every way. I shall make you prosperous and give you a reward." So saying he left the prince, and went to Benares, taking Kṛshṇājī Pant, one of the brothers, in his company. "Get the religious rites at Gayā and Prayāg performed for me through [men] you know."—So saying, (he) took him in his company, and came to Benares. There (he) performed the bath in secret, visited Śrī Viśveśvar and performed the bath at Prayāg and the *gayāvarjan* ceremony. There he contracted an immense loan and performed [deeds of]

[89] देश the word used in the text means a country or the region above the ghāṭs. I think the word home will give the sense here.

charity. Then it was so arranged that he should come home to his own kingdom. Should they go by the direct route? The Bādshāh's army had gone that way, so they should not go. So deciding he came through Gonḍawaṇā,[90] Bhāgānagar[91] and Bijapur to Rājgaḍ. On the way, vigorous searches were made at many places, and ruin and treachery seemed to be imminent. But Śrī Bhavānī guarded (him) and brought him safe and sound. Nirājī Pant and Dattājī Pant and Rāghojī Mārāṭhā, these four[92] came. On his arrival at Rājgaḍ, big charities and great festivities were made. Sugar was distributed, (and) cannon were fired. The *Mātuśrī*, and the *Kārkuns*, and the soldiers in the army, and the forts, and strongholds, and the militia, all were pleased and held festivities.

Preparations were then made for recovering the twenty-seven forts ceded to the Mughals. He said to Moro Pant *Peśwā*, and Niḷo Pant *Majumdār* and Annājī *Surnīs*,—"You should capture (these) forts by diplomacy and exertions." And the Rāje personally said to the Māwḷes—"Capture forts." Thereupon, there was a *Hāzārī* of the Māwḷes, Tānājī Mālsurā by name, (he) made (the following) offer,—"I shall take the fort of Konḍāṇā."[93] [56]

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[90] The country of the Gonds—the central provinces of to-day.

[91] Golconda. So called, according to later chroniclers, aftar Bhāgā, a Brahman lady, who had offered a dish to the founder of the city when the latter was very hungry and tired. In return she prayed that the city should be named after her. There is another story about the name Golconda.

[92] Why Four? Is the Rāje also counted with them.

[93] For an English translation of a charming ballad of the capture o Sinhagaḍ see Rawlinson, Shivājī the Mārāthā, pp. 102—111.

Making such (an) offer, and accepting robes of honour and betel leaves, he went below the fort, with five hundred men for the enterprise against it. And selecting two good (and) intrepid Māwḷes (he) made them climb up the precipice of the fort at night. They proceeded up the cliff in the same manner as the monkeys move, and climbing the precipice they reached the (ramparts of the) fort. Fixing a rope ladder (*māḷ*) to[94] that point, the remaining men with Tānājī Mālsurā climbed up, (and) three hundred men went up to the fort.[95] Udebhān,—a Rājput, was (in command) in the fort. He learnt that the enemy forces had come. At this news, all the Rājputs girt their waists, took MATCH[96] and CHARGE in their hands, and lighted torches and *chandrajotīs*.[97] Twelve hundred men composed of gunners, and archers, lancers, swordsmen, rushed on with upraised blades and small arms and shields. Then the Māwḷes repeating (the name of) Śrī Mahādev, rushed straight on the Rājput army, and confronted (them). For one *prahar* a great battle raged. Udebhān, the *Killedār*[98]

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[94] *Māḷ* is used in Persian histories of the time in the sense of a rope ladder with leather foot-rests.

[95] The Mārāṭhā method of scaling a rampart with human ladders was very peculiar. The soldiers first formed a human pillar—by standing on each other's shoulders—that reached the rampart and the top-most man then dropped a rope, which was held fast by the men forming the column. The remaining men then climbed up the rope in close succession, thus completing the garland or *māḷ*. I am indebted to Rai Bahadur Gupte for this information.

[96] तोडावार.—The Match—the name of this was in Persian either Jāmgī or Falitah in Hindi Torā—Irvine, Army of the Indian Moghuls, p. 107.

[97] *Chandra-jyoti* is the Sanskrit translation of the Persian word *mah-tab*, a kind of candle filled with powder.

[98] The commandant of the Fort.

in person, encountered Tānājī Mālsurā *Subhedār*. The two great warriors, and very intrepid (men) fell on one another. (They) went on dealing blows. The shield which Tānājī (had) in his left hand was broken. A second shield did not come in time. Then Tānājī made a shield of his left hand, and received (the enemy's) blows on it; (and) both of them were fired with anger. (They) fought furiously. Each was cut to pieces by the other, and fell at the blow of *firangs*. Both died on the spot. Then Suryājī Mālsurā, Tānājī's brother, mustered courage, rallied all (his) men, (and) killed the remaining Rājputs. Many Rājputs leaped (down) the cliff and died in their descent. In this manner, (they) killed twelve hundred men, (and) captured the fort. And fire was set to the [thatched] stables of the cavalry in the fort. The Rāje noticed its light from Rājgaḍ and cried out,—"The fort has been captured! Victory has been achieved!" It happened like this. Then a *Jāsud*, came the next day, with the news,—"Tānājī Mālsurā fought bravely. (He) killed Udebhān *Killedār* and Tānājī Mālsurā also fell." So (he) reported. As he said that the fort was captured, the Rāje remarked,—"One fort has been taken, but another fort is gone."[99] [57] So (he) felt very sad for (the loss of) Tānājī. Then a garrison was placed in the fort. Suryājī Mālsurā the brother (of Tānājī) was extolled,

[99] Kondāṇā was called Sinhgaḍ or Lion's fort (or den). It is said that Śivājī remarked, when Tānājī's death was reported—"The fort has been captured but the Lion is gone" (गड आला पण सिंह गेला). See Grant Duff, Vol. I (Cambray's edition), p. 197.

and the *Subhā* (ship) was conferred on him. Brave soldiers got gold bracelets in reward. (He) gave (them) immense wealth. Gold embroidered clothes were given to all men. In this manner was Koṇḍāṇā captured first. Then Moro Pant *Peśwā* and Niḷo Pant, and Annājī Pant, and the Māwḷes, with similar distinction, took twenty six forts in four months. (The Rāje) went on governing his kingdom, recapturing what forts had been ceded by the treaty.[100]

After safely reaching Rājgaḍ from Benares, (the Rāje) sent men and letters to Muttra. Thereupon, Kṛshṇājī Pant, and Kāśi Rāū and Visājī Pant, the three, with their families, dressing Sambhājī Rāje in a *dhotar* (धोतर) and sacred thread and calling him their nephew, came to Rājgaḍ and met the Rāje. Then the Rāje met his son. Great rejoicing took place. (He) performed many deeds of charity. And (he) conferred the title—of Viśvās Rāv—on the three brothers—Kṛshṇājī Pant (and the other two). (He) gave (them) a reward of a *lakh* of *Hons*. A salary of ten thousand *Hons* was granted to the three brothers. (They) were enlisted among the chiefs [of the court]. *Mokāsā Mahāls* were granted (to them). (They were) extolled. Similarly Nirājī Pant had come along with (the Rāje), exhibiting much courage, and labouring hard; and Dattājī Pant was in (the Rāje's) company, and Rāgho Mitrā also was with him. Of them Nirājī Pant, knowing all about justice and equity, an intelligent Nizāmśāhi Brahman,

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[100] Sabhāsad's account is inaccurate here. Śivājī did not invade the Mughal territories immediately after his return. For two years he kept peace, and busied himself in consolidating his power. See Sarkar's Shivaji, pp. 202-203.

was appointed to the office of *Nyāyādhīś*, by the Government. All law-suits in the kingdom should be decided by him. His son Prahlād Pant, was a small (boy) of twelve or fourteen years. Finding that he was clever and intelligent, (the Rāje) appointed him to the office of the vicar to the *Sabnīs* of the forces, and kept him with the army, attached to the *Sarṇobat*. "Prahlād Pant will be a great man, (he) will bear great burdens," so the Rāje foretold. Investigations were made about what office should be conferred on Dattājī Pant. Then Gangājī Pant *Vāknis* died His *Vāknisi* was conferred on Dattāji Pant. He was reckoned as one of the *Sarkārkuns*. Rāgho Mitrā was placed in charge of the household forces. Whoever had in the (Rāje's) company, (in his journey from Delhi) shown courage and (performed) labour were glorified.

[58] Then the Rāje selected good men, and appointed the picked men (to be) with his palanquin. "I am the enemy of four Bādshāhs (and if) sometime occasion arises, those who are near will then be of service." Realising so, he selected choice men after inspection and examination of the Māwḷes, (and) organised them into *Pataks*.[101]

Their names (according to the order on the roll) (were as follows)—

(1) A body called hundred men.
(1) A body ,, sixty men.
(1) A body ,, sixty men.
(1) A body ,, forty men.
(1) A body ,, thirty men.
(1) A body ,, twenty men.

[101] The Turkish word *sanjar* meaning a standard was used in the sense of a regiment or a province. *Patākā* is sanskrit for standard. (Prof. J. N. Sarka

In this manner was each *Patak* named. Excellent men were selected from among the Māwḷes. The picked men being enlisted, the four *Pataks* combined made two thousand men. Of them, some (were) musketeers, some spearmen (विटेकरी) and the rest (had) light arms, (and) *firang*. In this manner were the men equipped. So many men (as were selected) were given (uniform) dresses. (They were equipped with), embroidered turbans (मन्दील) for the head, jackets of broad cloth for the body, two gold bracelets for the two hands,—to some (were given) silver bracelets, gold and silver rings to be attached to the upper and lower ends of the sword sheaths, silver rings for the guns and similar rings for the spears, and a pair of *kuḍkis* [102] for the ears. In this manner were all the men equipped with dresses, at the expense of the government. All had the same dress. As for their courage each one of them was superior to the others.[103] Two thousand Māwḷes selected after such [careful] scrutiny should always be with the palanquin near (the Rāje's person). In the like manner (he) appointed over them a *taināti sardār* of the position of a *Hāzārī* in the *haśam*. Likewise were *Jumledārs* appointed. And two thousand to two thousand and five hundred men were enlisted in the *haśam* [of the bodyguard]. They should be [always ready to take] the road. At the time of (the Rāje's) going (out), they should march on four sides of him with his

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[102] A earring with seven pearls arranged like a little flower.—Molesworth.

[103] The author means that all the soldiers were equally remarkable for their superhuman courage.

palanquin. In this manner were the men employed. Then an assault was made on the fort of Panhāḷā, (that) belonged to the Ādilśāhi, and the fort was captured. The Rāje remained in the fort. Siddi Johar, (a) *wazir* from Bijāpur, (with) twenty [59] thousand horse besieged the Rāje. The fort had been (only recently) captured, (and) there had been no time for strengthening (it) with stores. But the fort was well defended. Letters with a *Jāsud* were sent to Netājī Pālkar, the Rāje's *Sarṇobat*; (with the following message)—"You should come with your forces for a counter attack, and beat off Siddi Johar." (With such a message) were letters sent. But the forces (were) far away. (He) could not come in time. And (there was) no store in the fort. Then the Rāje deliberated (on the situation), and surrendered the fort to Siddi Johar. (He) himself came down. Siddi Johar took the fort and placed his own garrison (there).[104]

Then the Rāje summoned Netājī Pālkar, and with reproof—"Why didst not thou come in time?"—took away (his) *Sarṇobatship*, and gave it (the *Sarṇobatship*) to the *Sarṇobat* of Rājgaḍ,—Kaḍtājī Gujar by name, (and) conferred on him the appelation of Pratāp Rāv, instead of his old name. Pratāp Rāv, while serving as the Commander-in-Chief, assembled all the Mārāṭhās of the ninety-six families (शाहाण्णव कुळींचे) (including) those that were in the four Bādshāhis and those that were in (Śivājī's)dominions.

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[104] The Siddi was both "a fool and traitor." He believed in the false professions of Śivaji and secretly hoped with his assistance to carve out an independent principality of his own. (J.N.S.)

(He) bought horses for the cavalry. He went on equipping the state service cavalry (*pāgā*) and enlisting *Śiledārs.*[105] In this manner (he) made a numerous assemblage, (and) established (his) sway, in the four Bādshāhis.

The Rāje escaped from Delhi (and) the father and son came to (their) own country safely. Coming (home), (he) took twenty-seven forts in four months. Great fame was won. Learning this, Aurangzib felt anxious in his mind. Then the Bādshāh, gave diplomatic counsel to Shāh Ālam, his eldest son, and sent him with (an) army. He said to the Shāhzādā —"Śivājī cannot be conquered by force. You go and stay at Aurangābād and win his friendship by entering into negotiations for a treaty with him. If he does not like to come to an interview, then excuse him that (formal) homage. And granting *Jāgir* in his name [60] or in the name of his son get his army for service with you. Work so, by giving him whatever rent free villages, money or military outposts, he may demand, that Śivājī may become our servant. You win (but) this much success and complete success will come [naturally out of it.] Do so."[106] Giving counsels in

[105] As a rule, his (the Mansabdar's) followers brought their own horses and other equipment; but sometimes a man with a little money would buy extra horses and monnt relations or dependents upon them. When this was the case, the man riding his own horse was called in later parlance, a Silhadār (literally equipment holder) and one riding some body else's horse was a bārgīr (burdentaker). Irvine, Army of the Indian Mughals.

[106] It was Śivājī who begged Yaśovant to act as mediator between him and the Emperor and it was through him that the Prince was won over. The Prince wrote to his father recommending peace and his suggestion was accepted by the Emperor.

this manner, (he) despatched the Prince with (an) army. He set out with sixty to seventy thousand cavalry. Arriving at Aurangābād (by marching) stage by stage, (he) remained there, and sent to the Rāje,—letters, spy (जासुद), messenger (हलकारे) (and) envoys. They reached Rājgaḍ, (and) delivered the Shāhzādā's letters. (He) read them and learnt the contents. It was written there,—"You and I should unite by treaty." So (he) wrote.[107] Thereupon the Rāje, feeling highly pleased, sent Raghunāth Pant Korḍe to Aurangābād. Some jewels (and) clothes were sent for the Prince. Raghunāth Pant went (and) had (an) interview. The Shāh honoured (him) greatly. (He) said a few things in private (that) "The Rāje and I are brothers. You and I should be of the same view (and) you should come for (an) interview also. I shall grant *Jāgir* in (your) son's name. Appoint for (my) service a *Sardār* and an army and send a Brahman of rank. (I shall) maintain (them) by granting *mokāsā.* You should be at the Bādshāh's orders." It was settled that a *Hapt Hāzāri's Jāgir* should be granted in the name of Sambhājī Rāje, and territories yielding 15 *lakhs* of *Hons* (in) Berar and Khandesh should be given. (Raghunāth) was despatched with valuable ornaments and clothes.

He came back to see the Rāje. (An) interview took place. The Shāhzādā's ornaments, clothes, (and)

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[107] Literally so he wrote and sent (असे लिहूनपाठविले) the idiom here as well as in a previous sentence वाचुन पाहिली exactly correspond to the Bengali idioms.—লিখিয়া পাঠাইল, পড়িয়া দেখিল।

letters, were delivered. The proposal about the *Jāgir* was conveyed. When (he was) acquainted with all the purport the Rāje argued,—"We have firstly, enmity with the Bādshāh of Bijāpur, enmity with the King of Bhāgānagar,[108] (and) enmity with the Mughals. Three such enemies cannot be endured. Mine is a new kingdom, within it also my rule has been established after enduring two or three very hard knocks. Therefore one enemy at least should be made a friend, and for two years (I) should muster strength and recover (my power). Then (I) should do what is fit." So thinking he came to the conclusion that peace should be made with the Mughals; and despatching five thousand troopers with Pratāp Rāv *Sarṇobat*, deputed Nirājī Pant as *Sarkārkun* in his company. [61] And agents of Moropant *Peśwā*, and the *Majumdār* and the *Surnīs* were sent. The office of the *Sabnīs* of the forces was conferred on Prahlād Pant, son of Nirājī Pant. Rāūjī Somnāth, a *Kārkun*, was sent as *Subhedār* for the *mokāsā* territories, that would be given. These were despatched. Peace was concluded with the Mughals. Agreeing to *Hapt Hāzāri* (*mansab*) for Sambhājī Rāje, Nirājī Pant and Pratāp Rāv went to Aurangābād.

Then the Prince received them with great honour. A separate site was assigned, and a suburb was founded (for them there). Elephants, horses, jewels, (and) clothes, were given to all. A *Jāgir* land yielding 15 *lakhs* of *Hons*, was granted in the

[108] The Sultan of Golkonda.

province of Berar. Rāūjī Somnāth was stationed as *Sarsubhedār* in that province. The Government share of the produce also was granted to them. The men got enough of money, (and) remained contented.

Then the Shāhzādā wrote (and) sent this news to the Bādshāh at Delhi. Thereupon the Bādshāh felt much pleased as soon as he learnt of it. The Bādshāh had the pleasure (of seeing that) his dominions were undisturbed. In this way the army remained at Aurangābād for two years. And the Rāje on his part got leisure. In his dominions, (he) amassed money. (He) conquered many forts, strong-holds, and territories, belonging to the Ādilśāhi. There was much intimacy between the Prince and the Rāje, (and) they went on sending presents to each other. Therefore the suspicion arose (in the mind of) Aurangzib at Delhi that,—"The Shāhzādā and the Rāje are united. (They will) sometimes rebel and do me treachery." So he planned—"Now I should sow dissension between these two." So he wrote to the Shāh,—"Śivājī is a traitor (हरामी). His *Sardārs* (generals) Pratāp Rāv and Nirājī Pant, these two are with (their) army (with you). Therefore do not put your faith in them. They will sometimes (if occasion arises) create disturbance at Daulatābād. Therefore, you should imprison these two, put all their horses in (your) stables. Let there be no remissness (ग्यात) in this respect." So (he) wrote. This news, the Shāh's *Vakil*, who was with the Bādshāh, [62] immediately transmitted by veiled language (इशारत),—"Things here have happened in this manner." You should be careful.

Such information (obtained), the Bādshāhzādā called Nirājī Pant in private, (and) communicated this news, and giving (him) clothes and ornaments dismissed (him) secretly, (with these instructions) "To-morrow night, run away with the whole army (and) escape to the Rāje. If your goods are left, (you) will get (them). Keep the infantry with you. Take (your) baggage afterwards at your leisure. In a few days the Bādshāh's note (कागद) will arrive. Then I shall have to imprison you. Therefore you should previously get away." So (he) said. Thereupon Nirājī Pant returned (and) getting Prātāp Rāv and all other men ready next day, set off with the army at night. They went to the Rāje (marching) stage by stage. (An) interview took place. (They) came with some treasures and clothes and ornaments of variegated colours and figures. The Rāje felt pleased and said,—"For two years the army has gained its subsistence and (we) have obtained a friend (in) the Shāhzādā. This is a good occurrence (that) has taken place. Now, an occasion has arisen for plundering the Mughal territories." So (he) said. Then the Rāje's army left for Aurangābād.

Eight days after this, arrived the Bādshāh's autograph letter. (The Shāh) learnt the contents. Then the Shāh said—"The Mārāṭhās are villains (हरमजादे). They fled eight days previously. If they had been here, I would [certainly] have imprisoned them." So (he) said, and wrote to Delhi in answer to the Bādshāh,—"I am ready to do as ordered, but the Mārāṭhās fled eight days ago;

there was no chance of imprisoning them." To this effect (he) wrote[109] Then the Bādshāh was nonplussed on learning of it,—"The Mārāṭhās are very cunning"—he remarked. Things happened in this manner.

An interview took place between Pratāp Rāv and the Rāje. The cavalry got ready. Beating back the (enemy) forces who had invaded the home-territories, (they) invaded the Mughal provinces created confusion there. Then and there was the Rāje's fort of Rāngṇā. [63] (There came) from Bijāpur Rustam-i-Zamān, *wazir*, with seven to eight thousand soldiers (and) laid siege to the fort. At that time the garrison made a stout defence and the Rāje reinforcing (them) by sending troops repelled Rustam-i-Zamān and saved the fort. After Rustam-i-Zamān had been defeated, Ābdul Karim Bahlol Khān[110] *wazir* (came) from Bijāpur with an assembly of twelve thousand horsemen laid siege to Rāngṇā. The garrison fought much and the Rāje also attacked them by sending troops, (and) assisting from outside. Bahlol Khān was much harassed. And the rains ensued (and) storm commenced. Many perished during the rains. Elephants, horses, (and) camels died. The [Bijāpur] army was spoilt. Such became (his) condition. Bahlol Khān fled away saving his life (alone). The fort remained

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[109] लिहूनपाठविलॆ—if literally translated would be—"sent (tho letter) (after) writing (it)." It corresponds exactly to Bengali লিখিয়া পাঠাইল, but there is no corresponding English phrase for it.

[110] R. B. Sane has retained the letter व (and) between Ābdul Karim and Bahlol Khān, but Bahlol Khān was the title of Ābdul Karim.

safe. Then in all the cities that were in the Moglāi (Mughal dominions) were stationed four to five men in disguise for spying (out their wealth and opportunities of plundering them).[111] The informations gathered, two were to come to report the intelligence, (and) two were to remain there on the watch. Then the residences (हवेलिया) and cities were to be plundered by sending the army. This arrangement was made. Shortly afterwards came Bahirjī *Jāsud* from Surat, with the information that—"If Surat is plundered, wealth beyond counting will be found." So (he) reported. Thereupon the Rāje argued,—"(If) the army (is led) by servants, the work is not likely to be done satisfactorily. Therefore, if going (is decided) I should go in person with the army." So he decided. And Makājī Ānanda Rāv the natural son of Mahārāj Śāhājī, and Vyankojī Datto, a Brahman, a great military *Sardār* of renown, who had left the services of the Mahārājā and come to the Rāje,—these the Rāje exalted and invested with the rank of *Panch Hāzāri*. And Pratāp Rāv *Sarṇobat* and Vyankojī Datto and Ānanda Rāv and other *Sardārs*, ten thousand *Pāgā*[112] and ten thousand *Śiledār*—an assembly of twenty thousand men, similarly five to seven thousand choice Māwḷes and the *Sarkārkuns*, Moropand *Peśwā*, [64] and Annājī Pant, and Dattājī Pant, and Baḷ Prabhu Chiṭṇīs (Bālājī Āvjī),—these

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[111] पाळती—One set to watch the conduct or motions of another or to take note of his items of property and of the facilities and difficulties presented for stealing them. Molesworth.

[112] *Pāgā* here as distinguished from *Śiledār* means *Bārgirs*, or those who were armed and accoutred at the Rāje's expense.

(he) took with him. From Koḷāvaṇ [Koli country, north of Kalyāṇ] (he) marched straight to Surat[113] at the rate of five to seven *gānvs*[114] per march and all of a sudden arrived at Surat. The men of Surat were off their guard, (and) the army entered the suburb near the gates of Surat at the gallop. The Mughal forces[115] also came forward. Great fighting took place. Many men of the Mahomedan side were killed. And seizing bankers' houses they filled their bags with gold, silver, jewels of nine various sorts, (*viz.*) pearl, coral, ruby, diamond, emerald, topaz, (and) sapphire, coins like *Mohars, Putḷis, Ibhrāmis, Sātrāmis, Asrafis, Hons,*—coins of various kinds, and many such (precious) things. Hands were not even laid on clothes, copper vessels and minor things. In this manner was the city looted for two whole days and nights. As many good horses as were captured in the battle or found in the bankers' houses were taken and the Rāje decided that (he) should quickly depart. This done, half the horses from the entire army were kept with the forces for fighting (purposes), on half the horses were laden the bags of spoils. Long bags were made for the infantry (and) given to their care. Making such preparations, they started with their loads. The fort of Surat was not

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[113] This was the second sack of Surat. The first sack took place in January 1664, when Śivājī did not get much above a *kror* of Rupees in all.

[114] 1 *Gānv*=

(*a*) About 6 miles (Ind. Ant., 1898, p. 295).

(*b*) *Gows*=40 *kos* (Eng. Factory Records) or 11 miles each.

(*c*) 3 *Gows*=30 miles (Eng. F. R.).

[115] They retired into the fort after making onl a show of resistance. There was no fighting.

captured. As there was (very) little time (the Rāje) went away after plundering the city. (On receiving this news, the Mughal Subhedār) (with) twenty *omraos*, and Mahabat Khān and Dāud Khān,—made a race of seven *gānvs*, and came on, each Subhā being accompanied by a thousand horse. They intercepted the Rāje. (He) learnt the news that the enemy was come. The Rāje himself mounted horse, put on a cloak of steel netting with cover for the neck and head,[116] arming his hand with a *paṭṭā* (पट्टा) [117] (and) sending forward the baggage horses and the infantry [65] stopped with ten thousand horsemen, unburdened of all. There is a city called Vaṇī Dinḍorī. There (they) stopped, and fought a severe action with the Subhā's men who had come. Mahabat Khān and Dāud Khān fought. The Rāje stationed his forces in the front, and placing himself in the rear, offered battle. Pratāp Rāv *Sarṇobat* and Vyankojī Datto, and Ānand Rāv, (with) other *Sardārs* advanced forward (and) made a great slaughter. and killing the Mughals, felled (their) corpses. For two *prahars* the battle raged. The Mārāṭhās fought as neplus ultra.

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[116] The Khogi must be something worn on the head * * * Has it anything to do with Ghoghi, a pocket, a pouch, a wallet (Shakespear 1756) Ghūnghi, cloths folded and put on the head as a defence against the rain (Shakes. 1758)? The latter may point to a solution. The Khogi or better the Ghūgi, may have been folds of cloth adjusted on the head to protect it from a sword blow—Irvine. Army of the Indian Mughals, p. 65, Baktar—This is the name of a body armour in general, whether it were a cuirass or chainmail description—*Ibid*, p. 66.

[117] A *paṭṭā* is a long double edged sword with a broad hilt protecting the forearm of the swordsman. Śivājī is seen armed with a *paṭṭā* in Ravi Varma's popular portrait.

(म्रतंकेलो) (They) killed three thousand Mughals, took three to four thousand horses. Two Mughal *wazirs* were captured. They came after winning a victory in this manner. After this Jagjīvan the son of Udārām, a *wazir* of the Mughals, and Rāy Bāgīṇ, Udārām's wife came with (other?) *Sardārs* and five thousand Mughals to Umbarkhinḍī. They were beaten back. Rāy Bāgīṇ was besieged. Then she begged for an (*kaul*) assurance of safety declaring herself to be a child of the Rāje, holding grass in her teeth. Then the Rāje gave her a *kaul* (a safeguard), released her on her professing helplessness and came back to Rājgaḍ.

The spoils of Surat being calculated (it was found) that in all goods worth five *krors* of *Hons* had been brought.[118] Four thousand horses had been seized, a cavalry force was organised with them. As the distinctive mark of this force, a quadrangular sign was branded on the right buttock of the horses.[119] Such marks of recognition having been put, all the Ādilśāhi and Nizāmśāhi forts that (still) remained in the country were then captured. Forts were built on some rocks at impregnable places. New forts were constructed at villages at various places in the country. Realising that territories are kept under control by means of forts (he) built them, and in the Konkaṇ conquered the country

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[118] Highly exaggerated—"An official inquiry ascertained that Śivājī had carried off 66 *laks* of Rupees worth of booty from Surat."

[119] This was no innovation of Śivājī's. It prevailed in the Mughal army and in the Pathan Army (see Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi). In the Moghul army, the scale of pay depended on it. See Irvine, The Army of the Indian Moghuls, p. 13.

as far as Kalyāṇ, Bhivanḍī and Rājāpur. In the course of this conquest, (he) killed and routed those of the rebel Pāḷegārs and *Deśmukhs* of different places that came to fight, and protected (and) properly maintained those who accepted his *kaul*. [66] Revdanḍā and Rājpurī were Nizāmśāhī forts in the sea, the Habśī commander was (practically) the master there. His fleet in the sea, consisted of forty to fifty ships,—Gurabs,[120]—with it he plundered territories, obtained maintenance (and) preserved (his) lands. His men began to molest the Rāje's country. Then the Rāje sent a force (of) two thousands Māwḷes (under) Bājī Pāsalkar. Similarly sea-going ships were built. The Rāje saddled the sea (with a dam), thus was one arm made ready. Rājpurī (alone of the Nizāmśāhī dominions) was left [unconquered by him] in the sea, and on that account the name of the Nizāmśāhī still continued there. As that place had to be conquered, the Rāje built forts selecting (for their sites) rocks at various places, as these commanded the sea and (these forts) would weaken the sea kings. Realising this, (he) fortified some submarine rocks (and) constructed forts in the sea. Building such seaforts or Janjirās (and) uniting ships

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[120] The gurabs have rarely more than two masts, although some have three; those of three, are about 300 tons burthen; but the others are not more than 150: they are built to draw very little water, being very broad in proportion to their length, narrowing however from the middle to the end, where instead of bows they have a prow, projecting like that of a Mediterranean galley, and covered with a strong deck level with the main deck of the vessel, from which however, it is separated by a bulk head which terminates the forecastle."—Orme, War in Indostan (1775), Vol. I., p. 408.

with forts, the Rāje saddled the sea.[121] Thinking that his name would be maintained (*i.e.*, his authority would be recognised) as far as marine forts would be built, he built innumerable forts and Janjirās (island strongholds) on land and in the sea. Such were the deeds (he) performed.

Thereupon, one Kāy Sāvant from Rājpurī came with a force of five thousand to fight. A great battle was fought (and) furious fighting took place. Kāy Sāvant himself and Bājī Pāsalkar were great warriors. His (Pāsalkar's) moustaches were as thick as arms; curling them (he) used to place two lemons on two sides on the support of (the copious) hair;—such a prodigy of strength (the Rāje) entertained (in his service). They (Sāvant and Bājī) met each other in a duel. Each inflicting on the other twenty-five wounds fell dead. Their respective armies thereupon retired, each to its own place.

In the meantime, the Rāje's father Śāhājī Mahārāj, who lived at Bangalore, suddenly died of a fall from his horse, at Bogdarī a village in the province of Chitradurga, while coming towards Bijāpur. This news made the Rāje [67] very sad. After performing the prescribed rite, (he) celebrated many deeds of charity. And he said—"It would have been well, if the Mahārāj had (survived longer and) witnessed the heroic deeds of a son like me. Now to whom should I show

[121] Prof. Sarkar suggests that it should be translated as follows: At sea, with the exception of Janjirā, he combined forts and ships and (thus) saddled the sea." If खेरिज is inserted after असे in line 12 we get the above sense.

my valour? Formerly I killed Āfzal Khān, punished and defeated Śāistā Khān, and went to Delhi after an interview with the Mirzā Rājā. Having seen the Bādshāh I came back to my own kingdom. Then I captured many forts, plundered many towns and enlisted an army of 40,000 cavalry in *Pāgā* and *Śiledār*. The Mahārājā was pleased at the news of such heroism. Letters of approbation used to come to me regularly. He used to send robes of honour and ornaments likewise. I have no elder (left) after him now." In this strain he lamented much. The *Mātuśrī* was going to immolate herself; the Rāje sat on her lap, twined his hands round her neck and made her take an oath (that she should live) and refrain (from self-immolation). "There is none to witness my heroic deeds, thou must not go." With such exhortations the Rāje, as well as all other great men, after great exertion made her desist. Things happened in this manner.

Then the Siddi of Rājpurī was to the Rāje an enemy like rats in a house, and he began to enquire about how he should be defeated. Then Raghunāth Ballāḷ *Sabnīs* voluntarily prayed that he should lead an expedition against the Siddi. (So saying) he marched towards Rājpurī with five to seven thousand Māwḷe irregular infantry. He went, overran the whole province as far as Rājpurī (including) Tāḷe and Ghosāḷe, and cleared the coast frontier up to Rājpurī. One or two of Siddi's regiments that had come were beaten. Then negotiations were opened from Rājpurī with Raghunāth

Pant, and peace was concluded. Then (they) sent some good men asking for some territories and with (the assurance of) strong oaths induced Raghunāth Pant to go for an interview. The interview took place, friendship was established by the ratification of the treaty. Raghunāth Pant was given clothes (and) a horse (and) came to his country. Then in course of time he died, and thereafter the rock that checked the Siddis was broken. Thereupon the (conduct of the) Habśīs underwent a change, (and they) began to disturb (the Rāje's) country. Then the Rāje despatched Vyankoji Datto with the army designated (for the work). He went and utterly devastated their dominions [68] (and) annexed their land. Then the Siddi sent a Habśī force (of his own nationality) of cavalry and militia against the celebrated Vyankojī Datto. A battle was fought between them. Vyankojī Pant killed three hundred Habśīs (and) captured their horses. Vyankojī Pant toiled hard (and) got (no less than) twelve wounds. He came after inspiring such terror that the Siddi had to open negotiations for peace. But the Rāje did not conclude peace and remained in his (Siddi's) country,[122] strengthening himself

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[122] Although it was Śivājī's life's ambition to capture the Siddi's stronghold of Janjirā, he never succeeded. The attempt was repeated by his successors without any better result. Although Daṇḍa Rājpurī was once captured by his general, it was recaptured by the enterprising Mahomedan Admiral. Śivājī however left no means untried to overthrow the Habśī sea-power. He tried bribe, he sowed dissension among them but the only result was to drive the desperate Habśīs to acknowledge Mughal supremacy and range themselves on the side of Aurangzib. The Habśī Admirals gave the Mārāṭhās immense trouble. They not only raided their coast but often

(by the erection of) new forts and strongholds at various places. Formerly a hill near Rājpurī had been fortified, (the Rāje) captured it, built a fort (there) and conquered the whole country. Military posts were established. Then he (the Siddi) had no resource. (The Rāje) stationed a *Subhā* with a train of five to seven thousand militia men. Such (measures) did he take. Then no territory was left to Rājpurī. Wherefrom was grain to come? (For that) there were ships in the sea. With them they began to plunder other lands, bring provision, and subsist (thereon). On that account the Rāje fitted ships in the sea. (Fitting out) ships of various types as Gurabs[123], and Tarāndes[123], and Tārūs[123], Galvats[123], śibāḍs[123], Gurabs[123] and Pagār[123], (he, appointed two *Subhedārs*, a Musalman *Subhedār*

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sent *chorṭās* or professional thieves to rob Mārāṭhā subjects. The chiefs of Janjirā ruthlessly tortured their unhappy captives and compelled them to abjure their faith and embrace the religion of the Arabian prophet. It may be noted here that Bālāji Āvji was origiually a subject of the Habśīs and was forced to leave his ancestral home and seek Śivāji's service by the tyranny of the alien rulers.

[123] Gurabs are repeated twice here and their description has already been given (see 120). "Galivats (Galvats) are large row boats built like the Gurab but of smaller dimensions, the largest rarely exceeding seventy tons: they have two masts, of which the mizen is very slight; the main mast bears only one sail which is triangular and very large, the peak of it when hoisted being much higher than the mast itself." Orme, Vol. I, p. 409.

Tārū means a sailing vessel generally.

A Tarāṇḍe is a sailing vessel of large dimension.

"The Shibar is a large square-sterned flat-bottomed vessel with 2 masts but no deck."—J. N. Sarkar, Modern Review, Dec. 1918, p. 540.

Shibar—trading boats—Orme Hist. Fragments, p. 79.

The Pagār is only a well smoothed canoe.

Daryā Sārang[124] (sea captain) by name and Māy Nāīk (water leader) a Bhanḍārī,[125] consitituting a *subhā* of two hundred ships; in this manner was the navy equipped. A battle was fought between them and the Siddi's fleet, and the Siddi's vessels were captured. Many battles were fought, (and it came to such a pass) that Tarānḍes could not sail in the sea. (They) went on making constant attack on them (the sailing vessels). Then the Habśī used to secure provision by theft and robbery. The Rāje's ships began to plunder the cities and forts at various places belonging to the Mughals, the Firangis (Portuguese), the Dutch, the English and the Kilātāv,[126] and twenty-seven such sea powers (Bādshāhs that are in the sea), as well as various sea coast towns as Bednūr, Saundā and Śrīrangapattan and subsist (thereby). They fought at various places (and) used to bring the Rāje grains and other provisions, after providing for their own needs.[127] In this manner seven hundred ships were (equipped) in the sea. A force was organised in the sea also. (Thus) was

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[124] "Daria is Persian for ocean and Maa is Arabic for water. Sabhasad speaks of Darya Sarang, a Musalman and Mai Nayak as a Hindu of the the Bhandari caste. But a Bombay letter dated 21st November, 1670, says—'The admiral of the [Maratha] fleet is one Ventgee Sarungee commonly called Durrea Sarungee. Daulat Khan was an officer distinct from the Dariya Sarang."—J. N. Sarkar, Modern Review, Dec. 1918, p. 540.

[125] A class of Śudras who extracts spiritnous liquors from the cocoanut tree.

[126] किलाताव is either (1) *Kalantar* a Persian word meaning superior applied to the president of an English factory or (2) the *Kiladi* dynasty of Bednur. (J. N. Sarkar.)

[127] The fleet was probably mannied by fishermen of the coast like the Koḷī. There is a statue of Śivājī at Mālavaṇ with the Koḷī head gear. It is not improbable that it formed the uniform head dress of his sailors.

(this) one plan [69] worked out. Only Rājpurī (*i.e.*, Janjirā) remained of the Nizāmśāhi naval dominions. On this account the name of the Nizāmshāh is still preserved.

As he wanted to conquer that place * * * (the sentence is incomplete here). At Kuḍāḷ in Konkaṇ, lived a rebel (chief) Lakham Sāvant Desāi by name, with (a force of) twelve thousand *haśam*. Kuḍāḷ was under (the sway of) Ādilśāhi.—He sent word to Bijāpur that after assembling an army of horse, foot, and militia, he was going to march against the Rāje to recover Konkaṇ. To this effect he sent a (verbal) message. Thereupon, from Bijāpur, Khawās Khān, commander-in-chief, a great warrior, came to Kuḍāḷ with ten thousand horsemen. Lakham Sāvant united with him with twelve thousand irregulars (*haśam*) (and) went on reconquering Konkaṇ. In the meantime, the Rāje got the information, and selecting (his forces from) the army and the militia marched straight on them. Bājī Ghorpaḍe was coming from Bijāpur with fifteen hundred horsemen to help Khawās Khān (He) descended from the Ghāṭs and halted. Thereupon the Rāje sent an army against him (and) by a surprise attack (utterly) destroyed Bājī Ghorpaḍe with all his relations and following. Twelve hundred horses were captured. A great battle was fought. Then he was to fall upon Khawās Khān at Kuḍāḷ, (and) to destroy him also like this (Bājī), (but) by this time the Khān heard this news. "Bājī Ghorpaḍe had been destroyed with fifteen hundred horses"—learning this news, he was struck with terror (and) fled over the

Ghāṭs, (and) went straight to Bijāpur. Then the Rāje undertook the command of the force against Lakham Sāvant. (The Rāje) killed many of his soldiers also. Thereupon Lakham Sāvant left the province of Kuḍāḷ and fled to the foreign provinces in the Portuguese dominions. The Rāje conquered the province of Kuḍāḷ. The Portuguese dreaded the Rāje, and so it happened that they would not harbour him there. When he had nowhere to go to, (he) sent a fish-eating Brahman, Pitāmbar Śeṇvī,[128] by name, as envoy to Kuḍāḷ for opening negotiations with the Rāje. [70] With a safe conduct from the Rāje he came to meet him. The interview took place. "We are Sāvants—that is—we are of the same family as the Bhonsle. It is meet that you should maintain us." On (his) speaking at some length in this strain, the Rāje granted (the Sāvant) the *Deśmukhi* of Kuḍāḷ, (and he so ordered) that an assignment of six thousand (*Hons*) should be made to him as (his) salary. (He) was not to build any bastioned mansion. (He) should live at Kuḍāḷ. (He) should not make any assembly (of force). He was

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[128] "Shenvis, according to Sahyādri Khand, are said to have come at Parashurām's request from Trihotra or Tirhut in Northern India. This legend is probably confirmed by the fact that specially in Goa, Shenvis, like Bengalis, freely rub their head with oil, and also like them are fond of rice gruel *pej*, and fish. The honorific *Bāb* as in Puruhottam *Bāb*, is perhaps a corruption of *Bābu* in Bengali. Their broad pronunciation of vowel sounds is like that of the Bengalis. Though they fled from Goa to escape conversion by the Portuguese, every family has still a private idol there. They claim to be Sārasvat Brahmans of the Panch Gaud order."—Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. X, p. 116. The Bengalis and the Sārasvatas are very probably descended from common ancestors, but the tradition about their separation in Trihut is rather doubtful.

kept in this condition. Conferring on his *Sardārs* Rām Daḷvī and Tān Sāvant, *Hāzāriship* of the *haśams*, (the Rāje) stationed and appointed other three officers of his own at three places. He did not let any interview between them and Lakham Sāvant take place again. In this way he subjugated the province of Kuḍāḷ. The fort of Phonḍ belonged to the Ādilśāhi. The princely (राजबिंडा) Mahabat Khān, a mighty general, was (commandant) there. (The Rāje) laid siege to that place and by laying mine by means of tunnelling (सुरंग लावुन) blew up the bastions. Phonḍ was captured. Mahabat Khān was granted a safe conduct (कौल) and permission to go to Bijāpur. On that occasion an officer in the Rāje's service, Ibhrām (Ibrāhim) Khān, a great Musalmān warrior, (and) a *Hāzāri* of the forces, was with him. He toiled (and) laboured very hard. After capturing Phonḍ, (and) taking Carwar, Śiveśvar, Miraj, Ankolā, Kadre, Supe, Uḍve, all these forts of Konkaṇ (he) extended the frontier as far as Gokarṇa, Mahābaḷeśvar on the Ghāṭs, (and) Supe; and intimidating the Portuguese of Goa took from them cannons, (money) in cash and jewels, (and) after winning them to his side (आपलेसे करून) came after giving them a license to trade. (He) gave them leave to export and import. In this manner he subdued the whole of Konkaṇ.

Then, in Bednūr was a Lingāyat named Śivāppā Nāīk.[129] His city of Basnur (Barcelore) was of great

[129] Śivāppā was a powerful prince and a good ruler. He had considerably extended his kingdom. For a short account of Kiladi Nāyaks and Śivāppā see Bowring! Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan, pp. 35-37.

renown. (Śivājī) sent spies to the seacoast, obtained informations (through them), (and) as there was no path for going across the Ghāṭ, the sea-going ships were brought and fitted, and the Rāje himself embarked on a ship, and one day suddenly appeared before Barcelore for raiding. The people of the city were off their guard. (He) landed from the ship all at once (and) plundered the city. For one day the city was sacked empty (लुटुन फन्ना केले). As he had brought goods by plundering Surat, so [now] he came back to his own country with innumerable goods and property (in) gold, gems, clothes (and) merchandise. [71] (It was found) that property in all to the value of 2 *krors* of *Hons* had been brought

Again there was in the Mughal dominions the big city of Karanjā. Information was procured thence, (and) the Rāje himself proceeded there taking the force with him. On his way he plundered the *peṭh*[130] of Aurangābād. Making a rapid march of seven *gānvs* (he) went to (and) halted at Karanjā for three days, took possession of all the mansions of the city, (and) with shovels dug out (buried) treasures. After taking cash, jewels, gold, silver and rich clothes, he rode (back). The Mughal *Subhās* at various places,—Dilel Khān, and Bāhādur Khān, Ikhlās Khān, and Bahlol Khān and Indramani[131] (and) *Omraos* like these (from) different places, some with ten thousand, some with twelve thousand (forces) came

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[130] A Peṭh is a city or village, often unwalled, under the shelter of a fort usually on an eminence hard by.

[131] Indramani or Indrabhān was a brother of Rājā Sujan Sing Bundelā; see Ferishta's History of Dekkan by Jonathan Scott. (1794), Vol. II, p. 33.

on (the Rāje) from (all the) four directions. He went on, fighting with them (and) offering resistance. He fought many great battles, killed the Mughals, levelled them to the dust, (and) captured and brought elephants, horses, camels (and other) property. And all the enemy's *wazirs* went back unsuccessful. The Rāje reached his dominions in safety with his forces. Dilel Khān with twelve thousand horsemen came up and pursued him, at a distance of ten to twelve *gānvs* up to the banks of the Bhīmā. Then the Rāje went to Rājgaḍ. The spoils when valued were (found to be) worth seven *krors*.

Then Rāyrīgaḍ[132] that belonged to the Ādilśāhi was captured. The Rāje himself went and found that the fort was very fine, the precipices on the four sides looked as if scraped perpendicular, (and were) [72] one and a half *gānvs* in height. During the rains grass did not grow on the cliff and (it looked as if

[132] The following account of Ráyri by an English traveller is worth quoting in this connection—"The Mar-rajah, the sovereign of these people, generally keeps his court, or more properly speaking, considering their purely military constitution, his head quarters, at the fort of Raree, in the mountains of Dekkan; and if reports do not bely it, this must be the most completely impregnable place in the universe. It is represented as a fortified mound of rocks, extremely high, and so steep, as by no one narrow path way, to be accessible to human footing; with this advantage, that the enclosure of it is large enough, independent of the stores accumulated there, to grow grain sufficient for the maintenance of its garrison, which were it but a handful of men, could with pleasure defend it against the greatest armies that could be brought to take it: not to mention that the passes and defiles leading to it among the mountains are so rugged and narrow that the Morattoes must be all asleep, to suffer any armies to penetrate to that frontage."—Grose, A voyage to the East Indies (1772), Vol. I, p. 88. For another account, see Fryer—A new account of East India and Persia in Eight letters, p. 79 (original edition). A graphic description of Rāyri and a sketch map will be found in Bombay Gazetteer (Kolaba Volume).

it were) one chiselled slab of stone. (So fine was it.) It is true that Daulatābād also was one of the finest forts in the world, but it was less in height. This fort was ten times as high as Daulatābād. The Rāje was very pleased to find it so, and (he) said that, this fort should be made the seat of his throne. Resolving thus, he built houses, palaces, state rooms, buildings and a separate mansion for the eighteen departments, and seraglio for the queens, similarly separate quarters and bāzār for the *Sarkārkuns*, separate quarters for *Panchhāzāris*, and dwelling houses for men of note, (different) stables for elephants and horses and camels, and garages for palanquins and chariots, and cowsheds, in that fort with *chunam* plaster and hewn stones.

The first wife of the Rāje, the mother of Sambhājī Rāje, died. After her, the Rāje married six other wives. Of them Sayerā Bāī, a daughter of the Mohite [133] (family) became pregnant. A son was born to her. He was born with face downwards. The news was delivered to the Rāje. The Rāje remarked.[134]—" (He) will upset the Bādshāhi of Delhi." So (he) said. Then the astrologer prophesied, " He will be a great king. (His) fame will be greater than (that of) Śivājī Rāje." So he prophesied. Then the Rāje named him Rājā Rām.[135] And (he) said, " Rājā Rām will make his subjects happy. His

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[133] Her father was a Śirke (Rajwade).

[134] Literally 'went on remarking,' in Bengali it will be रजि बलिते लागिलेन ।

[135] Rājāram was named after the hero of the Rāmāyaṇa, because he was born on the Rāmnavamī day. Śivadigvijaya, p. 225.

power will be greater than mine. The fame of his name will be great. If my name is preserved, it will be by him." So (he) said, and performed many deeds of charity.

Then Moro Pant *Peśwā* took many new forts from Trimbakgaḍ to the fort of Sālheri (and) built many new ones. He captured forty such forts new and old. He subdued Kolāwaṇ. (He) annexed the kingdoms of Rāmnagar and Jawāhir. In those provinces also he built forts. In this manner did (he) distinguish (himself).

[73] The Bādshāh at Delhi learnt all these news, *viz.*, that—"Surat has been plundered, Barcelore plundered, Burhāṇpur, (and) Aurangābād have been plundered. Sālheri and all other forts have been taken. (Śivājī) is establishing (his authority) in the provinces of Khandesh, Baglan, Gujrat, (and) Berar."—Hearing this, he felt much distressed, (and) said,—"What remedy should be adopted? Commanders of *lakhs* of horse I sent, but (he) overthrew them. They came back with failure. Whom to send now? If I send a Shāhzādā then (he) will join in a revolt thither, and take Delhi itself. Therefore none appears fit to be sent, (or) should I myself gird my waist and march against Śivājī? Then what should I do if something like Śāistā Khān's (affair) happens (to me)? Therefore I shall not leave Delhi so long as Śivājī is alive." So he decided and summoning Ikhlās Khān, a perfect warrior, and Bahlol Khān, sent (them) with twelve thousand horsemen to Sālheri. (Their instruction was) to take (and) utterly destroy Sālheri. Similarly Dilel Khān was

despatched against Ahivant with ten thousand horsemen. Dilel Khān came and beseized Rāvtā Jāvtā. The garrison defended (it) well. Great fighting took place. The fort did not fall into his hands. Moro Pant *Peśwā* sent twelve thousand Māwḷes to succour (the garrison). They went (and) made a sudden attack. In this way (they) frightened (the enemy). Rāmājī Pāngerā, a *Hāzāri* of the militia, with one thousand men, encountered Dilel Khān below Kaṇeragaḍ. Deeming a thousand men (a) small (force), Dilel Khān came upon them with his army. Rāmājī Pāngerā made a selection from among his men; and as he selected—bidding those (alone) to remain who would be his companions in a desperate struggle—seven hundred men stood (there with him). They offered a desperate battle. The forces of Dilel Khān dismounted (and) came on (them). (They) surrounded the Māwḷes on four sides. For a *prahar*, as sticks beat (on drums) quick and noisily on the *Śimgā* day, the Māwḷes fought. Twelve hundred of Dilel Khān's Pāṭhāns were laid low. Then the seven hundred men and Rāmājī Pāngerā, throwing off their turbans and upper garments (उघडावोडका), and each (of them) getting twenty to thirty wounds from arrows or spears, [74] died. A great battle was fought. Then Dilel Khān wondered for one *ghaṭkā* with his finger in mouth.

After that, Nawāb Ikhlās Khān came and laid siege to Sālheri, and dismounted below the fort. As the Rāje learnt this news, he sent letters and *Jāsuds* to Pratāp Rāv *Sarṇobat*, whom he had sent into the Mughal dominions with an army, [with the message]

"Go quickly with your army by (the) Warghāṭ road to Sālheri make a sudden attack on Bahlol Khān, and drive Bahlol Khān away. And Moro Pant *Peśwā* has been sent for from Konkaṇ with the militia (*haśams*). He will come from this side and you are to come over the Ghāṭs (by the Warghāṭ road). Thus coming from two sides, attack the enemy and (utterly) rout (them)." To this effect were letters written. Thereupon Pratāp Rāv came with his army by the Warghāṭ road. Moro Pant *Peśwā* came from Konkaṇ. Both of them reached Sālher. From one side the cavalry charged on their horses, from another side the Māwḷes rushed in. And they fought. A great battle took place. For four *prahars* of the day the fighting lasted. Mughals, Pāṭhāns, Rājputs and Rohilās fought with artillery—swivels carried on elephant and camel.[136] As the fighting began, such a (cloud of) dust arose that for a space of three *cosses* square, friend and foe could not be distinguished. Elephants were killed. Ten thousand men on the two sides became corpses. The horses, camels, elephants (killed) were beyond counting. A flood of blood streamed (in the battlefield). The blood formed a muddy pool and in it (people) began to sink, so (deep) was the mud. As the slaughter was carried on, not a living horse remained. The horses that were captured alive, numbered six thousand (when delivered) to the Rāje. One hundred and twenty-five elephants were taken. Six thousand

[136] For a learned account of the Mughal artillery see Irvine, The Army of the Indian Mughals, pp. 121-122, and for a discussion about the meaning of the word *Arābāh*, see *ibid*, pp. 141-142.

camels were captured. Goods, treasures, gold and jewels, clothes and carpets (बिछाइत anything spread for sitting on) to sit on, beyond calculation came into (his) hands.

Twenty-two *wazirs* of note were taken prisoner. Ikhlās Khān and Bahlol Khān themselves were captured. In this manner was the whole *subhā* destroyed. One or two thousand (soldiers) escaped, each man alone. Such was the battle (that took place). In that battle Pratāp Rāv *Sarṇobat*, and Ānanda Rāv, and Vyankojī Datto, and Rupājī Bhonsle, and Surya Rāv Kānkḍe, Śidojī [75] Nimbāḷkar and Khanḍojī Jagtāp, and Gondjī Jagtāp, and Santājī Jagtāp, and Mānājī More, and Visājī Ballāḷ, Moro Nāgnāth, and Mukunda Ballāḷ, other *wazirs* and *omraos* of less note, exerted themselves hard. Similarly did the Māwḷe soldiers and *Sardārs* toil hard. The commanders Moro Pant *Peśwā* and Pratāp Rāv *Sarṇobat*, both (distinguished themselves) by personal valour. And during the battle, Surya Rāv Kānkḍe, a *Panchhāzāri* of the army, a great warrior, fought with great valour. At that time, he fell struck by a cannon ball. Surya Rāv was not an ordinary soldier. As Karṇa was a (great) warrior in the *Bhārat* (so) was he his (veritable) image; such a hero[137] fell. Other heroes of note also fell, victory was won after such fighting.

Pratāp Rāv and Moro Pant *Peśwā* wrote letters and sent *Jāsuds* (and) this news (was transmitted) to the Rāje. The Rāje was very pleased to hear the

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[137] Suryājī was one of Śivājī's earliest adherents.

news. Cannon boomed (and) sugar was distributed. Gold wristlets were put on the arms of the messenger, who had brought the news; and immense wealth was given to Partāp Rāv *Sarṇobat*, and Moro Pant *Peśwā*, Ānand Rāv, (and) Vyankojī Pant, in reward. Rewards were also given to the *Hāzāri* and the *Panchhāzāri* officers of the army, (and) the Māwḷes. Orders were sent, that *wazirs* of renown, who had been captured should be dismissed with clothes and horses. Thereupon the *Peśwā* and the *Sarṇobat* and *Sardārs* were pleased. Bahlol Khān and the Nawāb and *wazirs* who had been taken prisoners were dismissed with horses and robes. Dilel Khān was (at a distance of) four marches from Sālheri. On hearing this news, he fled back.

The Bādshāh at Delhi felt much distressed on learning this news. For three days he did not come out. For three days he did not come to the Hall of Public Audience [76]. So sad was he. "It seems God has taken away the Bādshāhi from the Musalmans (and) conferred it on Śivājī. It will be well now if my death will occur before (that of) Śivājī. Now the thought of Śivājī does not agree with my life." So he said. Then Bāhādur *Kokā*, the Emperor's foster brother [138] came (and) consoled him (in the following manner) "Reign at Delhi at ease. I shall march against Śivājī. I will reduce him to the state that he ought to be in. I shall so arrange that his forces may not come to the Bādshāhi dominions. I shall reduce him by various artifices. The Bādshāh

[138] *Khudda Bhāu* is a misprint for *Dud Bhāi* which means foster brother. Prof. Sarkar tells me that *Kokā* means the same thing in Turkish.

should not be anxious." After consoling in this manner (he) brought the Bādshāh (out) (and) seated him on the throne.

(The Emperor) exalted Bāhādur Khān, gave (him) clothes and ornaments, a locket from his own neck, a jewelled crest (kalgī) for (the turban of) his head, two elephants and horses, *jāgir* and promotion of rank, and sent with him seventy thousand horsemen. Dilel Khān was ordered to act as the leader of his van. Such a (mighty) force was despatched to the south against the Rāje. They proceeded stage by stage from Delhi. This news came to the Rāje from Delhi. The Rāje observed, " Bāhādur Khān is a bribe-taker (पेंडीचेंगुरू—a calf fed on and fattened by oilcakes). What (do I) care about him? He will take two years to come to my dominions." So (he) remarked.

Then Annājī Datto *Surnīs* by bidding Mālsāvant, a *Hāzāri* of the Māwḷes (to his assistance), captured by assault the fort of Panhāḷā, that belonged to the Ādilśāhi and took such forts as Sātārā, Chandan, Vandan, Nāndgirī (and) Parḷī [77]. The Rāje set out in person from Rāyrī, to inspect the forts and the provinces. No sooner did he come than the fort of Wāī was taken. Similarly the fort of Karhāḍ was captured. The forts of Sirwal (and) Kolhāpur were taken. Territories were annexed as far as Hukerī and Rāybāg. The kingdom was extended on four sides. How to carry on the governance of the kingdom? Then in Moro Pant *Peśwā's* charge were placed the country from Kalyāṇ and Bhivaṇḍī including Koḷawaṇ up to Sālheri, the

country above the Ghāṭs and Konkaṇ, Lohgaḍ and Junnar with the twelve Māwaḷs from the pass of Hārāḷyā (were placed) under the *Peśwā*. Konkaṇ from Chaul to Kopāl (including) Dābhol, Rājāpur Kuḍāḷ, Bānde and Phonḍ, was placed under Annājī Datto. The Warghāṭ (country above the Ghāṭs) from Wāī to Kopal on the Tungabhadrā (was) the province placed under Dattājī Pant *Vāknīs*. Dattājī Pant was stationed at Panhāḷā. In this manner was the kingdom placed under three *Sarkārkuns*. Besides these a few (five to seven) Brahman *Subhedārs* were stationed in the Mughal provinces. They were (kept) under the orders of the *Peśwā*. The *Sarkārkuns* were to enquire into the needs and welfare of the forts and strongholds. But what *Killedār* and *Kārkuns* were to be appointed, the Rāje himself should appoint after personal scrutiny. [78] If the *Sarkārkuns* found any serviceable soldier they should enlist him in excess of the fixed number of the quota (*tainīt*). Arrangement of this nature was made. The agents of the *Sarkārkuns* should remain with the Rāje. The *Sarkārkuns* should come to see the Rāje (once?) every year with the accounts and the revenue of their provinces. (He) went on carrying the administration according to these regulations.

Then Ābdul Karim Bahlol Khān came that way, with twelve thousand horsemen from Bijāpur. Learning the news, that he was moving in that direction, the Rāje summoned Pratāp Rāv with the whole army and ordered him—(as follows) " Bahlol Khān of Bijāpur has been stirring too much. Attack

him and win victory." Exhorting (them) to this effect, (he) sent the army against the Nawāb. They went (and) encountered the Nawāb at Umbrāṇi. The Rāje's forces surrounded him on four sides (and) made him halt. He had no access to water, so hemmed round was he. Great fighting also took place. In the meantime the sun set. Then the Nawāb made a desperate effort, made his way to the water (and) drank it. After that he secretly informed Pratāp Rāv— "I do not come against you (of my own initiative), I came at the orders of the Bādshāh. Henceforth I am yours. I shall not ever commit hostility against the Rāje."—He sent some friendly message like this, and made peace. Then the Rāje's forces went away. On learning this news the Rāje urged the forces and disgraced (Pratāp Rāv) asking "Why peace has been concluded?" So angry had he become. Then Pratāp Rāv came back with the army after plundering in the Mughal dominions,[139] the province of Bhāgānagar, Devgaḍ, Rāmgiri (and) other places. Then Niḷo Sondev *Majumdār*, who was in the service of the Rāje, suddenly died. It was decided that his office of *Majumdārship* should be conferred on his son. But the eldest son Nāro Pant was not at all intelligent. Rāmchandra Pant, the younger son, was intelligent. The Rāje had great affection (for him) and hoped (that, as) he was very intelligent, fortunate (and) lucky, he would be (a) hundreds of thousand times greater (man) than his father. On these grounds,

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[139] The word Mughal here is used in a comprehensive sense for Mahomedans, for Bhāgānagar or Golconda was still an independent state.

the *Majumdārship* was only (nominally) conferred on Nāro Pānt (and) the office was continued (in the family).

Thereafter the Bādshāh again sent Bahlol Khān from Bijāpur against the province of Panhāḷā. [79] He came to the above province. Thereupon the Rāje learnt that Bahlol Khān had again come. Then the Rāje commented—"He comes again and again." Therefore he again sent (a message) to Pratāp Rāv—"Bahlol Khān is coming, you are to go with the army, encounter (and) rout him, (and) win victory. Otherwise do not show your face (to me again)." Such was the peremptory verbal message that (he) sent to Pratāp Rāv. Thereupon Pratāp Rāv went and encountered Bahlol Khān. The Nawāb had come to Jesrī. (Pratāp Rāv) encountered him. A great battle was fought. The fates being contrary, Pratāp Rāv *Sarṇobat* was killed by a sword-cut. Many fell in the battle. A river of blood flowed. Thereafter Bahlol Khān went to Bijāpur. And the Rāje's forces came back to Panhāḷā.

The Rāje was greatly distressed on hearing the news that Pratāp Rāv had fallen, and said,—"To-day I have lost a limb. I had written to Pratāp Rāv not to show his face without winning victory. He has extorted applause by acting accordingly. How should the army be regulated now? Whom to appoint *Sarṇobat*? After making such enquiries, he came in person to the army, went with the forces to Chipḷuṇ, in Konkaṇ, a place sacred to the god Paraśurām, (and) remained there. Then after reviewing the army, (he) opened the treasury and

distributed the money among the horsemen,[140] great and small and men of the infantry. And looking for a man for *Sarṇobatship*, (he) (lighted on) one Hasājī Mohite, who was a *Jumledār* of the cavalry (पागा). Finding him (to be) a very intelligent, brave, patient, and cautious soldier, (and) a great swordsman, (the Rāje) conferred on him the title of Hambīr Rāv (and) appointed him *Sarṇobat*. The whole of the army was then assembled and placed under Hambīr Rāv. And he was despatched with the army to Warghāṭ.

(80) Then, Śāhājī Rāje died. His youngest son was Vyankājī Rāje. On him did the Bādshāh of Bijāpur confer his *Jāgir*. Nāro Dīkshit, who was the sole *Kārbhāri* of the Mahārājā (Śāhājī) died. Of him (were born) Raghunāth Nārāyaṇ and Janārdan Nārāyaṇ; these two brothers were skilled in all (branches of) learning, good diplomatists, sagacious, shrewd and intelligent. They and Vyankājī Rāje did not agree well. Then the two brothers, [leaving him] came to the Rāje. Raghunāth Pant and Janārdan Pant and Bāḷkṛshṇa their cousin, and Bāḷkṛshṇa Pant's son Kamḷājī Pant, Gangādhar Pant a sensible fellow born of Janārdan Pant, these five, with their household, horses and elephants, (and) similar belongings, and women, came to the Rāje. As soon as (he) learnt this news, the Rāje went forward and received them. The *Sarkārkuns* also went to receive them (and) brought them with honour. An allowance of forty

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[140] The word लष्कर here, I think means cavalry and has not been used in the ordinary sense of an army, as it has been used in contradistinction to पयदल infantry.

thousand *Hons* per year, was granted to them all, horses included, an assignment on the revenue was made for their pay, a chief place of honour among the *Sarkārkuns* was accorded to them, (and they were thus) entertained and maintained.

Hambīr Rāv went to Sampgānv with the army. (After a short time,) a Bijāpur general Husain Khān Miānā, a Paṭhān of great eminence, (who was the Commander of) five thousand Pāṭhān archers, lancers, light armed men, * * * * similarly *Bailes*, musketeers and artillery—Husain Khān (who) was a *Sardār* of the same rank as Nawāb Bahlol Khān, came against Hāmbīr Rāv. The Mārāṭhās were very bold, they gave battle with the utmost valour. They * * (गचडते ?) charged straight with their horses and fought. (They) killed many of Husain Khān's men and slew horses, and brought down elephants (in battle). A great and vehement battle raged from two *prahars* of day to four *prahars* of night. In six *prahars* the whole army was routed. Husain Khān himself was taken prisoner. Four thousand to forty-five hundred horses were captured. Twelve camels were taken. Similarly (they) seized camels and other goods, sheets to sit on (बिछाइत), treasure and clothes innumerable. Victory was won after great fighting. Countless men fell on both sides in the battle.

[81] Then (they) wrote the news of the victory (and) sent letters to the Rāje through the *Jāsuds*. They went (and) delivered the information. Thereupon the Rāje got much pleasure (and) felt delighted. Husain Khān's brother was at the fort of Kopal,

Moro Pant led an expedition against him and captured Kopal. Kopal was the gate of the South, a place (fit) to be a seat of royalty. Such a fort was captured. A place of great importance was acquired. Kopal is on the banks of the Tungabhadrā. (Therefore) territories extending to the banks of the Tungabhadrā came into (the Rāje's) possession. Owing to (the situation of) Kopal, (the Pāḷegārs of) Kanakgiri, Harpanhallī, Rāydurga, and Chitradurge, and Vidyānagar, Bundī Koṭ (and) other Pāḷegārs submitted. Such (an important) work was accomplished.

Bāhādur Khān with Dilel Khān, as the commander of his van had previously come from Delhi with (an) army and stopped at Āhmadnagar. When he learnt this news, the Rāje enquired about the (condition of the) forts and strongholds, and strengthened (them). Then (he) secretly sent a spy (जासुद) with letters to Nawāb Bāhādur Khān, (with the following instructions)—" Enquire about his motives, then do whatever will humour him " [141]—he did so. And the Rāje issued orders to his army, (and) Hambīr Rāv *Sarṇobat* entered the Mughal dominions with the forces. Khandesh, Baglan, Gujrat, Āhmadābād, Burhāṇpur, Berar, Māhur and other provinces, up to the banks of the Narmadā, including Jālnāpur, were invaded and plundered; contribution was levied (on the people), (and their) property was seized. (They) proceeded after collecting an immense booty. Then Bāhādur Khān, with all his

[141] It means that Bāhādur Khān was bribed to connive at the raid. —Prof. J. N. Sarkar.

forces, marched after Hambīr Rāv. The Rāje's army (when encountered), proved to be too powerful. The Mughals overcome by too much dread, marched at a distance of seven to eight *gānvs*. Dilel Khān impetuously came up with the army. (But) Hambīr Rāv took no notice of Dilel Khān and returned (safely) to the home provinces with (the plundered) goods. The booty was delivered to the Rāje.

Then one Vedmurti[142] Rājśrī Gāgā Bhaṭ, drawn by the Rāje's fame came to see him. The Bhaṭ Gosāvi was a great scholar [82], well versed in the four Vedas and six *Śāstras* and well practised in the *Yoga*, skilled in astrology, *mantras*, and all (branches of) learning; he was the Brahma Dev of the Kali Age; —such a learned man was he;—the Rāje and the *Sarkārkuns* went forward to receive him, and brought him with (all) honours. He was worshipped with the offerings of jewelled ornaments of many varieties, palanquins, elephants, horses, and immense property. Gāgā Bhaṭ[143] was very much pleased. In the

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[142] Generally used before the names of learned Brahmans.

[143] Viśveśvar alias Gāgā came of a learned family His father Dinkar, had written no less than twelve works, and his uncle Kamlākar was the another of a series of another twelve, the most well known of which is Nirṇayasindhu. The following geneological table has been given by Mr. G. S, Sardesai in Marāṭhī Riyāsat, Vol. I, p. 355.

Govinda Bhaṭṭa.
|
Rāmeśvar.
|
Nārāyaṇ (author of Prayogaratna).
|
Rāmkṛshṇa.
| | |
Dinkar Kamaldākar Lakshmaṇ.
|
Viśveśvar alias Gāgā.

opinion of the Bhaṭ Gosāvi, (as) the Musulman Bādshāh reigned (seated) on a throne with an umbrella (over his head), and Śivājī though he had subdued four Bādshāhis, and possessed seventy-five thousand cavalry, infantry, forts and strongholds, had no throne, the Mārāṭhā Rājā should (also) be the Lord of the Umbrella (*Chhatrapati*); so he reasoned. And the Rāje also approved[144] (of it). All the principal men were summoned and when consulted gave their approval. Then the Bhaṭ Gosāvi said, (that the Rāje) should be installed on a throne. Then an enquiry being held about the Rājā's family, it was found that the Rāje was a Śuddhakshatriya; a Śisodiā family had come from the north to the Deccan, that was the Rājā's ancestral family. Having previously decided that the sacred thread ceremony should be performed as the Kshatriyas of the north assumed the sacred thread, the Bhaṭ Gosāvi conferred the sacred thread on the Rāje at a holy place.[145] (The Rājā) was made a Śuddhakshatriya before (the coronation). Much wealth was distributed in charity. Fifty thousand Brahmans learned in the Vedas, were assembled from the home provinces, as well as from foreign territories and holy places of great sanctity. They were all made to stay. Every day they were fed with sweets. Then for the coronation a throne was made of thirty-two

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[144] According to other chroniclers it was the Rājā, who had either of his own initiative, or at the suggestion of Bālājī Āvjī, approached Gāgā Bhaṭ with the proposal of coronation.

[145] It should be noted that the Rāje was above forty when he assumed the sacred thread. It appears from an extract in the Peshwa's Diaries that the descendants of Śivājī had for sometime after the rise of the Peśwās given up the practice of wearing the sacred thread.

maunds of gold. Jewels of great value were sought from among the nine varieties of priceless jewels that were in the treasury, and set in the throne. A throne inlaid (with jewels) was prepared. Rāyrī was renamed Rāygaḍ (and) that fort was selected as the seat of the throne. It was decided (that the Rājā) should ascend the throne in the fort. Water from the seven holy rivers, as well as from other big rivers, and sea water and holy water from famous places of pilgrimage were brought. Gold jars and gold basins were made. Having so decided that the eight ministers (Pradhāns) should pour water over the Rājā from the eight jars and the eight basins, an auspicious day was selected (and) an auspicious time ascertained. A lucky moment was found on the *Śuddha Trayodaśī* day, in the month of Jyaisṭha in the year 1596 of the Śālivāhan era. [83] On that day, after performing the auspicious ablution (mangal-snān), the Rāje worshipped, Śrī Mahādev and Śrī Bhavānī his family gods, Bālam Bhaṭ the son of the priest Prabhākar Bhaṭ the family preceptor, the Bhaṭ Gosāvi and other great Bhaṭs and good ritualists according to the prescribed forms, with ornaments and clothes. After saluting (them) he sat on a gold stool for the (ceremonial) ablution (अभिषेक) The eight Pradhāns and great Brahmans poured over him (holy) water of different places from gold jars and vessels. (Then) dressed in resplendent clothes and ornaments, he sat on the throne, after saluting all his superiors. Many gold lotuses inlaid with gems of nine varieties and various other gold flowers and clothes were distributed in abundance.

According to the prescribed forms of charity, sixteen *Mahādāns*[146] (great forms of alms-giving) and other charities were performed. The eight pillars of the throne were studded with gems. By them were to stand the eight Pradhāns. Formerly in the Kṛtayuga, Tretāyuga, Dvāpar and Kaliyugas, many kings of holy memory had been enthroned; all the *Śastrik* rites performed on those occasions were celebrated now. The eight Pradhāns stood by the eight pillars. Their names are as follows :—

1. Moro Pant son of Trimbak Pant, *Peśwā* (or) *Mukhya Pradhān.*

2. Nāro Nilkanṭh and Rāmchandra Nilkanṭh *Majumdār*, their (new) designation (was)—*Amātya.*

3. Rāvji was *Panḍit Rāv*, on his son (the title of) Rāyjirāj(?) (the office was conferred). [147]

4. Hambir Rāv Mohite, *Senāpati.*

5. Dattājī Trimbak *Vāknīs*, his (new) designation *Mantrī.*

6. Trimbakjī Sondev *Ḍabīr's* son Rāmchandra Pant *Sumant.*

7. Annājī Pant *Surnīs*, his (new) designation *Sachiv.*

8. To Nirājī Rāvjī, (was given the) *Nyayādhīśship.*

In this manner were sanskrit designations given. The (eight Pradhāns) were made to stand at the

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[146] These are—(1) Tulāpurūsh, (2) Hiraṇya garbha, (3) Brahmmānḍa, (4) Kalpa Bṛksha, (5) Gosahasra, (6) Hiraṇyakāmadhenu, (7) Kāmdhenu, (8) Hiraṇyāśva, (9) Hirṇyāśvaratha, (10) Panchlanglak, (11) Dharā, (12) Viśvachakra, (13) Kalpalatā, (14) Saptasāgar, (15) Ratnadhenu, (16) Mahābhūtghaṭ.

[147] Another reading is—" The son of Raghunāth Panḍitrāv was made Ḍānādhyksha or Grand Almoner.

places assigned according to the designations given to them.

[84]. They stood at their respective places. Bāḷ Prabhu *Chitṇīs* and Nīḷ Prabhu *Pārsnīs*, also the agents of the eight Pradhāns, and the officers of the household as well as all respectable men, stood in conformity with the rules in order (of their rank). A gold umbrella inlaid with gems, having pearl fringes, was held over (the Rājā's head). The style of *Chhatrapati* was assumed. In all letters and documents, the Rājyābhishek era preceded by the phrase *Svāstiśrī*, was always used from the day he ascended the throne. Fifty thousand Brahmans learned in the Vedas had assembled. Besides them had assembled many *Taponidhis*, and holymen, *Sanyāsīs*, guests, *Mānbhāvs*[148], *Jaṭādhārīs*, *Jogīs*, and *Jangams* of various denominations. For four months they were given unhusked corn and sweets; when dismissed, money, ornaments, and clothes in abundance were presented to every one according to his merit. To Gāgā Bhāṭ (who had officiated as) the chief priest was given immense wealth. The total expenditure amounted to one *kror* and forty-two *lakhs* of *Hons*. To every one of the eight Pradhāns, was given a reward of one *lakh* of *Hons*, and a gift of one elephant, one horse and robes besides that (the money reward). In this manner was the Rāje installed on the throne. In this age the *Mleccha* Bādshāhs (rule) all over the world. Only

[148] The Mānbhāvs were an order of mendicants, who dressed themselves in black and had community of women. They were very severely persecuted under the Peśwā regime.

this Mārațhā Bādshāh became Lord of the Umbrella (*Chhatrapati*). This affair, that came to pass, was not, one of little importance.

Bāhādur Khān *Kokā* learnt this news. He then came and encamped at Peḍgānv on the Bhīmā. And (he) wrote this news of the coronation to the Bādshāh at Delhi. As he learnt this, the Bādshāh descended from his throne and retired to the harem. He struck both his hands on the earth and lamented much, repeating the name of his god, — "Khudā has taken away the Musalman's Bādshāhi, destroyed (our) throne, and conferred it on the Mārāțhā. It has reached the climax now." In this strain he lamented much and cherished a mountain of sorrow. Then the principal ministers consoled him in various manners, and by various promises made him sit on the throne. Similarly, when the Bādshāhs of Bijāpur and Bhāgānagar and all others heard this, they became distressed [85]. The Bādshāhs of Constantinople (Rum), Syria, (Shām), Persia (Irān), and Turkestan (Turān) and of the Sea began to lament in their minds, when they learnt this news. (They) lamented and felt afraid. Events of this nature took place.

Then the Rāje (duly) installed on his throne, ruled his kingdom. He conquered the Nizāmśāhi provinces and seized the Mughal territories. The Bādshāh of Bhāgānagar (Golkonda) concluded a treaty with the Rāje, accepted Prahlād Pant, son of Nirājī Pant, a highly intelligent man, as envoy (at his court), and secured, the friendship of the Rāje by paying a tribute. There were other insignificant

principalities, these were annexed. Some principalities paid tribute and became dependent.

The Rāje entertained in his heart the desire of conquering the Karnāṭak from the Tungabhadrā valley, to the Kāverī. It would cause delay, if the army was sent for the conquest; so the Rāje decided to go in person. But Bāhādur Khān, (was) at Peḍgānv, and the enemy might fall upon his rear, Nirājī Pant the Nyayādhīś was therefore sent (to him). Some presents and gem-studded ornaments were sent. Secret amity was made with him (Bāhādur), "It will take us a year to conquer the Karnāṭak. Do not commit any disturbance to (our) kingdom (during that period)." So was he (Bāhādur) told, and he was kept (inactive) at his station. And for accompanying him to Karnāṭak the Rāje selected from the Royal Cavalry (*Pāgā*) regiments, (that had in all) twenty five thousand horsemen, and he took with him the *Sarkārkuns* Raghunāth Nārāyaṇ and Janārdan Nārāyaṇ, who had local knowledge of Karnāṭak. The rest (of the *Sarkārkuns*), the *Peśwā* and the *Surnīs* and the *Vāknīs* and the rest of the forces were kept for the defence of the kingdom. And the Rāje thought (that) "Money will be required for conquering the Karnāṭak; the cash (accumulated) in the treasury should not be spent for that (purpose). The extra (money) should be procured from new sources and the province should be conquered by spending it." While making such considerations, (he thought that) there was an abundance of wealth in the Bādshāhi of Bhāgānagar. Money could be procured by violence

from there; but the Sultān of Bhāgānagar used to pay a tribute annually. Cruelty should not be committed there. An interview with him (Sultān) should be obtained by friendly means. After the interview he would give every friendly help. [86] Having deliberated in this manner, the Rāje decided to have the interview arranged, by writing about it to Prahlād Pant who was his envoy at Bhāgānagar. Tānā Shāh, the Bādshāh of Bhāgānagar, entertained in his mind a strong suspicion,—"As Āfzal Khān was destroyed, or Śāistā Khān was ruined, or as the Rājā had exhibited his valour to the Bādshāh Ālamgir after going to Delhi, what should be done if he similarly commits some mischief? (I) should have no interview with the Rāje, I shall give him whatever he demands."—So said (the Shāh). Then Prahlād Pant by taking many oaths and (offering to undergo) many ordeals (क्रिया) assured the Bādshāh, and (his) *Kārbhāris* Akāṇṇā Pant and Mādaṇṇā Pant, that there was no evil (intention,) that the Rāje would go away after a friendly visit. To this effect was a friendly agreement made with the Rāje. Then with the aim that the two should meet, the Rāje proceeded to Bhāgānagar, marching stage by stage with his army. A strict warning was issued after (he) had entered the Bhāgānagar territory. The Rāje ordered that the *Rāyats* should not be given the least trouble. He intimidated (intending offenders) by beheading some (miscreants) and (when he) arrived at the halting places he procured everything by peaceful purchase there (and then) went forward. There

was no plunder. As he proceeded in this manner, the Bādshāh became very pleased as he learnt the news (of his strict discipline). The Bādshāh intended to come forward to a distance of two to four *gānvs* (to receive him). (But) the Rāje was a highly courteous man; he sent the following verbal message with assurances of oaths—"You should not come. You are (my) elder brother, I am (your) younger brother. You should not come forward." The Bādshāh was very pleased at the Rāje's sending such a verbal message. And Madaṇṇā Pant and Akāṇṇā Pant, the virtual[149] (?) sovereigns and the real masters of the whole Bādshāhi, these two, came forward, received the Rāje and conducted him to the city. The Rāje had formerly furnished his army with rich gold embroidered accoutrements. He entered the city at an auspicious moment to see the Bādshāh. The Bādshāh had adorned the whole city. Streets and lanes were all around coloured with a thin layer of *kunkum* powder and saffron. Festive poles and triumphal arches were erected and flags and standards hoisted in the city. *Krors* of citizens stood (by the roads) to have a look at the Rāje. The ladies welcomed him by waving innumerable lamps round him. Gold and silver flowers [87] were showered upon the Rāje. The Rāje distributed much wealth beyond measure and countless dresses among the people in charity and reached the Dād Mahāl with all his forces. He sent the following verbal message, confirmed by oaths to the Bādshāh;—"Do not come down stairs—I am going (to you) in

[149] वजग्रा, वजीरे, Wazirs ?

person." The Bādshāh remained in the palace. The Rāje made the men of his army gird their waist, and sit down below the palace, and (he) proceeded up the stairs. The Rāje himself and Janārdan Nārāyaṇ and Prahlād Pant and Sonājī Nāīk the Royal Door Keeper and Bābājī Ḍhanḍhere, these five alone ascended (the stairs) and entered the palace. The Bādshāh came forward and gave (the Rājā) a friendly embrace. The two sat on the same seat. Madaṇṇā Pant, and Akāṇṇā Pant and Janārdan Pant, Prahlād Pant, Sonājī Nāīk (the Royal Door Keeper) and Bābājī Ḍhanḍhere, these were (present). The Bādshāh and the Rāje and Madāṇṇā Pant these three sat down, the rest remained standing. There was very great affection between the two, (and they) had a conversation. The ladies of the Bādshāh's harem looked at the Rāje through the latticed window and were much astonished. The Bādshāh was highly pleased, for three hours he listened to the stories of the Rāje's heroism. Then he presented some ornaments set with jewels, robes, horses, and elephants to the Rāje and to all his men, (and) dismissed them. The Rāje and the Bādshāh descended from the palace, and the Rāje went to his quarters.

Raghunāth Pant and Hambīr Rāv and other *Sardārs* had been left below the palace. Taking them in his company, the Rāje came to his place. On his way back he (again) distributed alms among the citizens. After the Rāje had left, the Bādshāh was convinced that he was honest, and had protected him (the Bādshāh), (and the Rāje) had respected

his oath. Wondering in this manner, the Bādshāh gave some rewards to Prahlād Pant (saying), "You are honest." Saying so and exalting (him) the Bādshāh sent Prahlād Pant to the Rāje. The next day Madaṇṇā Pant took the Rāje to his house to be his guest. And getting the dishes prepared by their Lady Mother, [88] Madaṇṇā Pant and Akāṇṇā Pant sat near the Rāje and (saw) him feeding. All other men of the Rāje's party were also fed, and after presenting (to the Rāje and his party) ornaments, robes, elephants and horses, (Madaṇṇā and Akāṇṇā) conducted them to their place. The Bādshāh summoned Madaṇṇā Pant and (the two) settled that "The Rāje should be given whatever he wanted, he should be pleased (in that manner and then) sent away." Having come to this decision, (they) selected an auspicious moment (and) again brought the Rāje for a second interview and gave him innumerable jewels, ornaments inlaid with gems, elephants, and horses. Then the two *Chhatrapatis* sat on the (terrace) of the palace and received the obeisance of all the *Sarkārkuns* and Hambīr Rāv and other military officers, and ornaments, robes, elephants, and horses were presented to them all, each individually according to his valour and fame. And the Bādshāh said, "You should help me on every occasion." After, confirming (the alliance) in this manner, and taking oaths in the Rāje's favour, (the Bādshāh) gave him leave. "I shall regularly pay the stipulated tribute every year, and you should keep in our connection, Prahlād Pant always with me." So suggested the Bādshāh. The Rāje returned to his place.

After this the principal officers of Bhāgānagar entertained the Rāje as (their) guest. In this manner he spent a month at Bhāgānagar. With the treasures and provisions of that place he led his army towards Jinji. Then he went to Śrī Śailya. He bathed in the Nīlgaṅgā and saw the god (of the place). The rites of the holy place were performed. The Rāje was highly pleased with this sacred place, it seemed to be a second Kailās to him. He felt disposed to offer his body to the god there and to sacrifice his head. At that time Śrī Bhavānī took possession of his body and said,—"Thy salvation does not lie in such things. Do not commit this act. There are many duties to be performed by thy hands in the future." So saying the Śrī departed. When the Rāje regained consciousness the *Kārkuns* delivered the message. Then the idea of sacrificing his head to the god was kept in abeyance.

Then Jinji was besieged with a view to the conquest of the Karnāṭak. Rauf Khān and Nāsir [Muhammad] Khān, [89] sons of Khānkhānān, the *wazir* of Bijāpur, (these two) were at Jinji; they were by diplomacy given an assurance of safety and induced to come out, and the place was taken. Sher Khān, a *wazir* of Bijāpur, was with five thousand horse at a place called Trimal (Trinomali?). The Pāṭhān was an (officer) of eminence, he had elephants and immense military stores. Sher Khān marched upon the Rāje. (The Rāje) fought and destroyed him. Sher Khān was captured alive. Five thousand horses and twelve elephants were taken. Money and jewels came into the Rāje's possession

beyond calculation. A great battle was fought. Trimal Mahāl was conquered after such performances.

Then Rājśrī Vyankājī Rāje, Rāje's younger brother, who had taken possession of the kingdom of Tanjore and was ruling there, came to see the Rāje accompanied by his *Kārkuns*. The brother met the brother. Kākājī Pant *Peśwā*, Ekojī Rājā's[150] *Kārkun*, and Konher Mahādev *Majumdār*, saw (the Rāje). Jagannāth Pant, son of Vyankājī Datto, the whole army and Bhimjī Rāje and Pratāpjī Rāje, sons of the Mahārajā's (Śāhājīs) concubines, also came to the interview. Great rejoicings took place. The two brothers entertained each other as guests, and they both made immense presents. For eight days they were together. Then the Rāje said to Vyankājī Rāje—"The Mahārājā was our common father. I took leave of him, went towards Puṇā and conquered so big a kingdom. I have established my fame. However, our father's twelve *birandes*[151] are in your possession and you are enjoying them. I am, however, his eldest son and a hero, I have displayed greater heroism than you. You should give

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[150] Another name of Vyankājī.

[151] Sanskrit *Leiruda* means title. The word seems to have been nsed in old Hindi also in the same sense *cf.* Bhushaṇ—Śiva-Rāj-Bhushan—"*Liyobirad sisodiā diyo īsko sīs.*"—In old Mārāṭhī we came across such phrases as *Aneka-biṛūdānkita. Mahāmahantā* (see Sanads and Letters ed by Parasnis and Mawji, Sanad No. 16).

But *birande* here certainly means something more than mere titles According to Molesworth it meant badges of honour. The Tanjore Temple inscriptions, however, mentions Horse *birunde*, Elephant *birunde* and other *birundes* which conferred upon their owners the right and privilege of putting certain ornaments on their horse and elephants, etc. These have been described at some length in the Tanjore Temple inscription published by Mr. V. K. Rajwade in the now defunct Prabhāt.

me only the twelve *birandes* of my father you have, and I shall display them. Of course I can have new ones, but I am demanding these, as I should have what was earned by my father." Thereupon Vyankājī held a different opinion and did not yield (what was demanded). Then Ekojī Rājā's *Kārkuns* and *Kārbhāris* roused fear in his mind, (telling him) that the Rāje would have an altercation with him and take the *birandes* by force [90]. (They) told him so, roused fear (in his mind), and at night Vyankājī Rājā fled with the *birandes* to Tanjore.

Then the next day the Rāje learnt the news that Vyankājī Rājā had fled. Thereupon he wondered (saying), "Why has he fled? Was I going to imprison him? What should I do with the *birandes*? My own *birandes* have spread over the eight directions. Over the seagirt earth my fame has spread, what then should I do with those *birandes*. I had asked for them, as one should have his patrimony. If he did not like to part with them, he was at liberty not to give them. Why did he flee for nothing? He is young, very young, and he has acted like a child." So observed the Rāje. Then Vyankājī's *Kārkuns* and *Sardārs*, who had been fleeing, fell into the hands of the Rāje's men. They arrested and brought them to the Rāje. Then (the Rāje) gave robes, ornaments and horses to them all, and sent them to his brother to Tanjore. There was one Santājī Rāje a son of the Mahārājā (Śāhājī) by a concubine. He was a hero of (great) valour. He came to see the Rāje. The interview took place. The Rāje conferred on him (the command of) one

thousand horse in the Karnāṭak. Rent-free villages were given to him. He was dismissed with a present of elephants, horses and robes. There was an Ādilśāhi (military) outpost at Vellore. That fort was so strong, that there was not another like it on the earth. Round the fort was a ditch of flowing water. The water was bottomless (so deep was the ditch). In that water lived ten thousands alligators. Two carts could be driven side by side, over the rampart of the fort, so strong was it. The rampart had four circuits one after (within) another. The fort was of this nature. The Rāje captured the fort by besieging it. Other forts and strongholds also were taken at different places. Some new forts were built. One hundred such new forts were constructed in that province. The Rāje conquered a kingdom yielding twenty *lakhs* of *Hons*. Jinji was like Bijāpur and Bhāgānagar, a metropolitan city (the seat of a throne). The Rāje ought to have remained there. But there was a vast kingdom on this side also. It was necessary to preserve that (kingdom). Therefore the Brahman Raghunāth Nārāyaṇ was appointed *Majumdār* of the entire kingdom, [91] and he was posted at Jinji, with that province under his charge. As he wanted an army for the time being, Hambīr Rāv, the Commander-in-Chief, was stationed (there) with his army. And the Rāje set off from Jinji with the two generals Ānand Rāv and Mānājī More and (their) regiments. He ascended the *Ghāṭs* and reached above. The forts of Kolhār and Bāḷāpur were captured. The country was conquered. Some forts were built,

Turbulent Pāḷegārs were destroyed and reduced to dust. That province also was placed under Raghunāth Pant. General Mānājī More was with his army stationed in the province of Kolhār. The Rāje went to Kopal, accompanied by Ānand Rāv. Thence he went to Lakshmeśvar. Thence he marched by stages to the province of Sampgānv. There was a fort called Belvāḍi.[152] There (ruled) a woman Desāīṇ. She carried off the transport bullocks of the Rāje's army. The Rāje learnt this news and laid siege to Belvāḍi, captured the fort, (and) arrested the Desāīṇ. She was punished. Then he returned to Panhāḷā and made an enquiry about the state of the kingdom. Then every body learnt that the Rāje was come. Thereupon Nirājī Pant, who had been stationed with Bāhādur Khān, also came to see (the Rāje). And the Khān also sent jewels and robes for the Rāje.

Then Vyankājī Rāje, learning (the news) that Hambīr Rāv with the army and Raghunāth Nārāyaṇ had been stationed in the Karnāṭak, mustered his own forces and those of the Pāḷegārs and marched against Hambīr Rāv. At that time, Vyankājī Rāje had innumerable cavalry, infantry and militia, four times as strong as these under Hambīr Rāv. Then a battle between Vyankājī Rāje and Hambīr Rāv took place. But the influence of the Rāje's (Śivāji's) virtue was more potent, and (his) fortune was (still)

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[152] Grant Duff wrongly identifies it with Bellary, the chief town of a Madras district. Belvāḍi is a small village about 10 miles from Sampgānv, The name of this brave lady was Saraswati Bāī and she was a Prabhu by caste. (J. N. Sarkar.)

in the ascendant; Hambīr Rāv routed Vyankājī Rāje's army. A great battle was fought. Many fell in fighting. And four thousand of Vyankājī Rāje's horses were taken. And elephants, jewels, minor chiefs, Bhimjī Rāje and Pratāpjī Rāje besides [92] other men of note were captured. Such a victory was won. Fame was won. And the captured officers were released with robes of honour. Then Raghunāth Pant and Hambīr Rāv marched towards Tanjore. Then Vyankājī Rāje was prepared to restore friendship through the mediation of some courtiers. Then Raghunāth Pant and Hambīr Rāv sent a messenger with letters to the Rāje. Then the Rāje on being apprised of the news, sent a reply to them (two),—"Vyankājī Rāje is my younger brother. He has acted like a child. But still he is my brother, protect him. Do not ruin his kingdom." When such an answer came, the two concluded peace with Vyankājī Rāje. And they took immense money [indemnity]. Then Raghunāth Pant dismissed Hambīr Rāv with the army, and sent them to the Rāje. And Raghunāth Pant himself, on that side, raised an army of ten thousand horse, *Pāgā* and *Śiledār*, in the Karnāṭak, and lived there (and) maintained the kingdom.

An interview took place between Hambīr Rāv and the Rāje. Many were applauded and given rewards. Then the Rāje himself besiezed Jālnāpūr in the Mughal territories, with the whole of his army. The suburb was raided. The town was plundered to destruction. Immense wealth, gold and silver, jewels and clothes, horses, elephants and camels were

plundered. Ranmast Khān came with the Mughal army. A battle was fought. Five thousand soldiers of Śidojī Nimbāḷkar Rāje fought for three days. He took Ranmast Khān a prisoner. His (Ranmast Khān's) army was about to be ruined, when Kesar Sing, Sardār Khān, and other nobles, came to his assistance with twenty thousand soldiers and halted three *cosses* off. Then Kesar Sing sent a secret message (to the Rāje) saying, "There are brotherly relations between the two parties. You should march away, before we encounter you." As soon as he got this information, the Rāje started thence. [93]. It was decided that the army should go by the Jaḍgirī route. At that time Bahirjī *Jāsud* offered (to act as guide) saying—"I shall conduct the army to a safe place avoiding any meeting with the Mughals. Your Majesty should not be anxious." After a watchful exertion of three nights, without taking any rest during day or night, (he) brought the army to Pāvgaḍ.[153] The Rāje was pleased with Bahirjī Nāīk. The balance of Government money due from him was written off and some additional rewards were given to him. The Rāje came at his leisure to Purandar with his army.

In the meantime Sambhājī Rāje, the Rāje's eldest son, took offence with him, and went over to the Mughal dominions and met Dilel Khān there. He (Dilel Khān) maintained him with great honour. Dilel Khān wrote to the Bādshāh at Delhi,—"The Rāje's son, Sambhājī Rāje, being angry with his

[153] Another variant is Paṭṭāgaḍ which name is given in the English Records.

father, has come to me. I have entertained him with great honour. If the Bādshāh should graciously exalt him there will be two parties in (Śivājī's) kingdom. The soldiers of the kingdom (of Śivāji,) will voluntarily desert (to us), and will capture his forts and strongholds." So he wrote. Thereupon the Bādshāh thought, "The Rāje's son has come (to us), if he is exalted, he will create a rebellion in my dominions and ruin the empire. So, he should not be exalted." So arguing he wrote and sent an order to Dilel Khān,—"Come with Sambhājī Rāje to the presence." So he wrote. But the Khān's agent at the Bādshāh's court wrote this news to him before (the Bādshāhi order reached the Khān). As soon as the Khān learnt this news, he made Sambhājī escape by throwing out some hints.[154] He fled and came back to Panhāḷā. The Rāje felt pleased when he learnt this news at Purandar [94] and came to see his son at Panhāḷā. Father and son met together. Much rejoicing took place. Then the Rāje said,—"My boy do not leave me. There is enmity between us and Aurangzib. He intended to commit treachery against thee. But the Śrī has kindly rescued thee and brought thee safely back. A great deed has been done. Now, thou, my eldest son, hast grown big, and I have learnt that it is in

[154] According to a Persian account also, Dilel Khān had connived at Sambhājī's flight. "Sewajee's messengers were allowed communication with Sambah, who now made his escape with only eleven attendants; so that it must have happened by the connivance of Dilel Khan, who made no enquiries or example among the guards who watched his person."—Scott's Ferishta, Vol. II., p 53.

thy mind that thou shoudst have a separate kingdom. This is also to my interest. I shall give thee a kingdom then. I have two sons. Thou Sambhājī art one; and Rājārām is the second. So I shall divide all my kingdom into two. The kingdom of Jinji—stretching from the Tungabhadrā to the Kāverī —is one kingdom. The second is a kingdom on the other side of the Tungabhadrā extending up to the river Godāvarī. Such are the two kingdoms (I have). Thou art my eldest son, I confer on thee the kingdom of the Karnāṭak; the kingdom on this side I give to Rājārām. You two sons, should rule over these two kingdoms. I shall (henceforth) meditate upon the Śrī, (and thus) secure my future welfare." So he said. Then Sambhājī Rāje replied,—"My fortune lies at the feet of Your Majesty. I will live on milk and rice (at peace) and meditate on your feet." So answered Sambhājī, and the Rāje was greatly pleased. Then the father and the son sat together, and reviewed the affairs of the whole of their state. What was the extent of the Karnāṭak? And what was the total revenue? How many departments were there? And who were the clerks and the *Sarkārkuns*? How many soldiers, state cavalry and *Śiledārs* were there? Who were their officers? Where and how many were the forts? What militia was there? How many marine forts and sea-going vessels (had the Rāje)? An account was made of each item. The list is as follows. The following is the list of the eighteen departments, villages and territories, that he enumerated, drawn up item by item.—

THE EIGHTEEN DEPARTMENTS.

1.	Khajīnā	... Cash.
2.	Jawhāhīrkhānā	... Jewel store.
3.	Ambārkhānā	... Elephant trappings.
4.	Śarbatkhānā	... Medicines.
5.	Tophkhānā	... Artillery.
6.	Daftarkhānā	... Record Department.
7.	Jāmdārkhānā	... Treasury.
8.	Jirātkhānā	... Agriculture.
9.	Mutbakkhānā	... Kitchen.
10.	Ushṭarkhānā	... Camels and their trappings.
11.	Naqārkhānā	... Band.
12.	Tālīmkhānā	. Gymnasium
13.	[95] Pīlkhānā	... Elephant sheds, etc.
14.	Farāskhānā	... Carpets, tents and accessories.
15.	Ābdārkhānā	... Drink.
16.	Śikārkhānā	... Game, aviary, chase and allied materials.
17.	Dārūkhānā	... Magazine.
18.	Śahatkhānā	... Conservancy Department.

THE TWELVE MAHĀLS.

1.	Pote ...	... Treasury,
2.	Saudāgīr	... Merchandise.
3.	Pālkhī ...	... Palanquins
4.	Koṭhī ...	... Warehouse and granaries.
5.	Imārat ...	... Building.
6.	Bahilī ...	... Chariots.

7. Pāgā ...	...	Stables.
8. Serī ...	...	Comforts.
9. Darūnī ...	...	The Zenana.
10. Thaṭṭī ...	...	Cowsheds.
11. Ṭanksāḷ ...	...	Mints.
12. Chhabīnā	...	Guards.

Treasures with details about different Coins and Clothes.

Gambār ...	...	100, 000.
Mohar ...	...	200, 000.
Putḷīs ...	...	300, 000.
Bādshāhi Hon	...	1,364, 525.
Satlāmī ...	...	100, 000.
Ibhrāmī ...	...	100, 000.
Śivrāī Hon ...	...	1, 500, 000.
Kāveripāk ...	...	1, 274, 656.
Saṇgarī Hon...	...	254, 030.
Achyutrāī Hon	...	300, 450.
Devrāī Hon ...	...	100, 400.
Rāmchandrarāī Hon	...	100, 000.
Gutī Hon ...	...	200, 000.
Dhārvāḍī Hon	...	300, 000.
Fanam of different kinds	...	200, 000.
Pralkhaṭī (?) Hon	...	100, 000.
Pāk (v) Nāīkī Hon	...	300, 000.
Ādavaṇī Hon	...	500, 000.
Jaḍmāḷ Hon ...	...	1, 400, 000.
Tāḍpatrī Hon	...	100, 000.

Gold in bullion, ornament and bar 12 Khanḍīs in weight.

Different kinds of fanams.

1. Apharjī.
2. Trivāḷurī.
3. Trisuḷī.
4. Chandāvarī (Tanjore).
5. Bildharī.
6. Ulaphkarī.
7. Muhammad Shāhi.
8. Velurī (Vellore.)
9. Katerāī.
10. Devajvaḷī.
11. Rāmnāth purī.
12. Kungoṭī.

[96] Silver coins and Jewels, etc.

Rupees	... ...	500, 000.
Asrafis	... ...	200, 000.
Ābāśā	... ...	1, 000, 000.
Dābhoḷī kabrī	...	2, 500, 000.
Chulī kabrī	... ...	1, 000, 000.
Basrī kabrī	... ...	500, 000.

1, 000, 000 (Rupees) worth of Silver, in bullion, dishes and ornaments weighing 50 khandīs.

Jewels.

1. Ruby.
2. Emerald.
3. Lapis lazuli.
4. Sapphire.

5. Turkois.
6. Pearl.
7. Coral.
8. Topaz.
9. Diamond.

9 (sorts) in all.

Clothes.

Plain and worked with gold and silver thread, coloured and fine, collected from fifty-six provinces and the sea—worth about, 1, 00, 00, 000, Hons. 50, 000, Niśāṇī Hons.

There was an immense collection of grains, salts and spices etc, in the grananies and the provinces.

The total in round number.

25, 00, 500,
500, 000, Yeḷurī (Vellore) Hons.

1,05,000 Troopers—in the state cavalry, and Śiledār,

List of officers Commanding 45,000 horse.

(1) Hambīr Rāv Sarṇobat,
(2) Santājī Ghorpaḍe,
(3) Mānājī More,
(4) Yesājī Kāṭkar,
(5) Santājī Jagtāp,
(6) Nimbājī Pāṭōḷe,
(7) Jetojī Kāṭkar,
(8) Parsojī Bhonsle,

(9) Ganojī Śirke,
(10) Baḷojī Kāṭkar,
(11) Niḷojī Kāṭe,
(12) Netājī Pālkar,[155]
(13) Tukojī Nimbāḷkar,
(14) Gondjī Jagtāp,
(15) Sambhājī Hambīr Rāv,
(16) Dhanājī Jādhava,
(17) Shāmā Khān,
(18) Vāghojī Śirke,
(19) Harjī Nimbāḷkar,
(20) Bhavān Rāv,
(21) Ānand Rav Haśam Hāzārī,
(22) Telang Rāv,
(23) Rūpājī Bhonsle,
(24) Vyankaṭ Rāū Khānḍkar,
(25) Khanḍojī Jagtāp,
(26) Udājī Pavār,
(27) Rāmjī Kānkḍe,
(28) Kṛshṇājī Ghāḍge,
(29) Sāvjī Mohite.

Total ... 29

Śiledars and Subhedārs of the province—

(1) Nāgojī Ballāḷ,
(2) Ganeś Śivdev,
(3) Chando Hirdev,
(4) Nemājī Śinde,

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[155] Does Sabhāsad mean Netājī the former *Sarṇobat*? Netājīhad returned home shortly before Śivājī's death and had been re-admitted into the Hindu society after a formal penance.

(5) Rāmājī Bhāskar,
(6) Bayājī Gaddare,
(7) Bāḷājī Niḷkanṭh,
(8) Hirojī Śeḷke,
(9) Trimbak Viṭhṭhal,
(10) Mahādjī Nārāyaṇ,
(11) Bāḷojī Śivtare,
(12) Jān Rāv Vāghmāre,
(13) Sankrojī Māne,
(14) Amrojī Pānḍhre,
(15) Rāmājī Janārdan,
(16) Mudhojī Thorāt,
(17) Kṛshṇājī Bhānḍḍe,
(18) Bahirjī Baḍgare,
(19) Chando Nārāyaṇ,
(20) Khemṇī,
(21) Khanḍojī Āṭoḷe,
(22) Rāgho Ballāḷ,
(23) Baḷvant Rāv Devkānte,
(24) Bahirjī Ghorpaḍe,
(25) Mālojī Thorāt,
(26) Bālājī Bahirav,
(27) Devājī Ughḍe,
(28) Ganeś Tukdev,
(29) Kerojī Pavār,
(30) Uchāle,
(31) Narsojī Shitoḷe.

Elephants, male, female and young about 1,260.	Commanders of the fleet and Sea-going vessels— 1 Dariyā Sārang. 2 Ibrāhim Khān. 3 Māya Nāīk,

OFFICERS IN COMMAND OVER 10,000 MĀWLES.

(1) Yesajī Kank Sarṇobat,
(2) Suryājī Mālsure,
(3) Gaṇojī Darekar,
(4) Mugbājī Benmaṇā,
(5) Māl Sāvant,
(6) Viṭhojī Lāḍ,
(7) Indrojī Gāvḍe,
(8) Jāvjī Mahānlāg,
(9) Nāgojī Pralhād,
(10) Pilājī Goḷe,
(11) Mudhojī Sondev,
(12) Kṛshṇājī Bhāskar,
(13) Kaldhonḍe,
(14) Hirojī Marāṭhe,
(15) Rāmājī More,
(16) Hirojī Bhāldār,
(17) Tukojī Kaḍu,
(18) Ram Daḷvī,
(19) Dattājī Iḍitulkar,
(20) Pilājī Saṇas,
(21) Jāvjī Pāye,
(22) Bhikjī Daḷvī,
(23) Konḍjī Vaḍkhale,
(24) Trimbakjī Prabhu,
(25) Konḍjī Farzand,
(26) Tānājī Tunduskar,
(27) Tān Sāvant Māwḷe,
(28) Mahādjī Farzand,
(30) Yesjī Darekar,
(31) Bāḷājī Rāv Darekar,

(32) Son Daḷve,
[98] (33) Chāngojī Kaḍū,
(34) Konḍāḷkar,
(35) Ḍhavḷekar,
(36) Tān Sāvant Bhonsle.

Total ... 36

The following is the list of forts and strongholds and fortified islands (Janjirās) :—

1 Konḍāṇā or Sinhagaḍ.
2 Ghangaḍ.
3 Yelbargīgaḍ.
4 Rāngṇā or Prasiddhagaḍ.
5 Lingāṇā.
6 Chandan.
7 Masītbāḍe or Māngaḍ.
8 Jayagaḍ.
9 Lohagaḍ.
10 Koṭ Phonḍ.
11 Koṭ Lāvḍ.
12 Rasāḷgaḍ.
13 Haḍsar or Parvatgaḍ.
14 Koṭ Kechar.
15 Sātārāgáḍ.
16 Paraḷīgaḍ or Sajjangaḍ.
17 Vallabhgaḍ.
18 Javḷegaḍ.
19 Harūshgaḍ.
20 Kurḍū or Mandargaḍ.
21 Sālobhāgaḍ.
22 Rohiḍā.
23 Madgirigaḍ.
24 Jivghaṇ.

25 Koṭ Manglur.
26 Kopalgaḍ.
27 Koṭ Kushṭagī.
28 Panhāḷāgaḍ.
29 Naubatgaḍ.
30 Koṭ Supe.
31 Purandargaḍ.
32 Pālī or Sarasgaḍ.
33 Achalāgirīgaḍ.
34 Bhorap or Sudhāgaḍ.
35 Koṭ Ankole.
36 Pāṇḍavgaḍ.
37 Vandan.
38 Koṭ Śiveśvar.
39 Khilṇā or Viśāḷgaḍ.
40 Trimbak or Śrīgaḍ.
41 Koṭ Haliyāḷ.
42 Bāhādurgaḍ.
43 Tānbaḍā.
44 Sālherigaḍ.
45 Manohargaḍ.
46 Ahivantgaḍ.
47 Ṭhakrīgaḍ.
48 Māhulīgaḍ.
49 Chāuḍ or Prasannagaḍ.

49 in all.

[99] LIST OF NEW FORTS CONSTRUCTED BY THE RĀJE.

1 Rājgaḍ with four fortified lower terraces (माचो)
2 Torṇā[156] or Prachanḍgaḍ.

[156] Evidently Sabhāsad is mistaken here for ? Torṇā was an old fort repaired and renamed by Śivājī.

3 Keḷjā.
4 Vairāṭgaḍ.
5 Kamalgaḍ.
6 Vardhangaḍ.
7 Pratāpgaḍ.
8 Kāngorī or Mangaḷgaḍ.
9 Gahangaḍ.
10 Patākāgaḍ.
11 Padmāgaḍ.
12 Subakargaḍ.
13 Sabalgaḍ.
14 Bahiravgaḍ or Sārangā.
15 Gagangaḍ or Bāvḍā.
16 Sāranggaḍ.
17 Surgaḍ.
18 Janjirā Vijayadurga.
19 Janjirā Sindhudurga.
20 Janjirā Khānderī.
21 Pāvangaḍ.
22 Pārgaḍ.
23 Bhinvgaḍ (Bhīmgaḍ).
24 Bhudhargaḍ.
25 Rājgaḍ.
26 Sahana (j) gaḍ.
27 Nākagaḍgaḍ.
28 Loṇjāgaḍ.
29 Kāchṇāgaḍ.
30 Sidīchāgaḍ.
31 Vasantagaḍ.
32 Sundargaḍ.
33 Mahīmāngaḍ.
34 Machchhandragaḍ.

35 Vyankaṭgaḍ.
36 Māṇikgaḍ.
37 Lokalgaḍ (Kalaul ?)
38 Kothḷāgaḍ.
39 Śrīvardhangaḍ.
40 Kamargaḍ.
41 Vāsoṭā or Vyāgragaḍ.
42 Kholgaḍ.
43 Prachitgaḍ.
44 Prauḍhgaḍ.
45 Vanagaḍ.
46 Nargundgaḍ or Mahadgaḍ.
47 Rāmdurga or Bhujabaḷ.
48 Bālerājā.
49 Anjanvelī.
50 Sargaḍ.
51 Murgoḍ.
52 Śrīmantgaḍ.
53 Gajendragaḍ.
54 Koṭ Yeḷūr.
55 Kanakādrigaḍ.
56 Ravḷāgaḍ.
57 Nāchṇāgaḍ.
58 Rāmsejgaḍ.
59 Rudramāḷgaḍ.
60 Samāngaḍ.
61 Vallabhagaḍ.
62 Mahīpālgaḍ.
63 Mayorgaḍ or Navalgunḍ.
64 Paṭgaḍ.
65 Songaḍ.
66 Kunjargaḍ.

67 Tunggaḍ or Kaṭhīṇgaḍ.
68 Mahīpatgaḍ.
69 Madangaḍ.
70 Kāngorīgaḍ.
71 Vārūgaḍ.
72 Bhūshaṇgaḍ.
73 Koṭ Boṭgīr.
74 Kambalgaḍ.
75 Mangalgaḍ.
76 Svarūpgaḍ.
77 Ḍholāgaḍ.
78 Manranjangaḍ.
79 Bahulgaḍ.
80 Mahīndragaḍ.
81 Rājegaḍ.
82 Baḷvantgaḍ.
83 Śrīgalḍavgaḍ.
84 Pavitragaḍ.
85 Kalānidhīgaḍ.
86 Gandharvagaḍ.
87 Sumangaḍ.
88 Gambhīrgaḍ.
89 Mandargaḍ.
90 Mardangaḍ.
91 Dahīgaḍ.
92 Mohangaḍ.
93 Gaḍāgaḍ.
94 Vīragaḍ or Ghosāḷā.
95 Tikonā Vidgaḍ.
96 Janjirā Suvarṇadurga.
97 Janjirā Ratnāgirī.
98 Rājkoṭ.

99 Sevṇāgaḍ.
100 Sevakagaḍ.
[100] 101 Kohajgaḍ.
102 Kaṭhorgaḍ.
103 Bhāskargaḍ.
104 Kapalgaḍ.
105 Hariśchandragaḍ.
106 Janjirā Kolābā.
107 Siddhagaḍ.
108 Manḍaṇgaḍ.

About 108 in total.

About 79 forts newly conquered in the Karnāṭak as in the following list.

Kolhār, Bāḷāpūr—Wargbāṭ.

(1) Kolhār Bāḷāpūr Bhor,
(2) Nandīgaḍ,
(3) Chandangaḍ,
(4) Brahmagaḍ,
(5) Gaṇeśgaḍ,
(6) Śrīvardhangaḍ,
(7) Vajragaḍ,
(8) Mardangad,
(9) Koṭ Bednūr,
(10) Bhāskargaḍ,
(11) Piplā or Prakāśgaḍ,
(12) Koṭ Ḍhamkūr,
(13) Koṭ Kolār kadīm (old),
(14) Durgamgaḍ,
(15) Bhīmgaḍ,
(16) Sarasgaḍ,
(17) Ahinijādurga,

(18) Kaṭṭargaḍ,
(19) Makrandgaḍ,
(20) Burvaḍgaḍ,
(21) Somśankargaḍ,
(22) Hātmalgaḍ,
(23) Bhumaṇḍaṇgaḍ,
(24) Mejkolhārgaḍ,
(25) Mahīpālgaḍ,
(26) Kapśerī near Bhīmgaḍ,
(27) Bundīkoṭ,
(28) Koṭ Yelūr,
(29) Kailāsgaḍ,
(30) Mahīmanḍaṇgaḍ,
(31) Arjungaḍ,
(32) Arkāṭgaḍ,
(33) Paḍvīrgaḍ,
(34) Bhanjangaḍ,
(35) Rājgaḍ Chandī (Jinji),
(36) Madonmattagaḍ Chandī,
(37) Mukhṇegaḍ Kotvel,
(38) Bhātur,
(39) Pāle koṭ.

Total—39.[157]

Forts and strongholds below the Ghāṭ.

(1) Patanagadanegaḍ,
(2) Jagdevgaḍ,
(3) Kevaḷgaḍ,
(4) Gagangaḍ,
(5) Madgaḍ,
(6) Kasturīgaḍ,

[157] R. B. Sane gives 38. But we find 39 names and the grand total will therefore be 80 and not 79.

(7) Ratnagaḍ,
(8) Pravaḷgaḍ,
(9) Mārtanḍgaḍ,
(10) Kṛshṇāgirī Chandī,
(11) Śāranggaḍ Chandī,
(12) Lāggaḍ Chandī,
(13) Koṭ Trichandī,
(14) Sudarśangaḍ,
(15) Mahārājgaḍ,
(16) Kṛshṇāgirīgaḍ,
(17) Ranjangaḍ,
(18) Śidgaḍ,
(19) Mallakārjungaḍ,
(20) Prāṇagaḍ,
(21) Kunjargaḍ,
(22) Ārkoṭgaḍ,
(23) Karnāṭakgaḍ,
(24) Bigevāḷugaḍ,
(25) Bahiravgaḍ,
(26) Koṭ Subhā,
(27) Mangaḍ,
(28) Koṭ Trikaḷūr,
(29) Veṭvaḷ or Kemal,
(30) Viśāḷgaḍ,
(31) Koṭ Trimal,
(32) Chelgaḍ Chandī,
(33) Garvagaḍ Chandī,
[101] (34) Koṭ Devṇāpāṭi,
(35) Rāmgaḍ,
(36) Chintāhar koṭ,
(37) Vṛdhdhāchal koṭ,
(38) Chavīkoṭ,

(39) Nilsājitgaḍ,
(40) Yaśavantgaḍ,
(41) Devgaḍ.

Total 41. Grand total 80.

THE TOTAL OF FORTS IN ALL.

First fifty forts...50,
New ones constructed by the Rāje—111.
In the province of Karnāṭak...80 (79).
Total 241 (240).

One province of the Kingdom extended from the fort of Sālheri on the hither banks of the Godāvarī over the whole country of Taḷghāṭ and Warghāṭ to the Tungabhadrā, and the other province extended beyond the Tungabhadrā to the banks of the Kāverī and included Kolhār, Bālāpūr, Jinji and Vellore (Yelur). These two provinces made the Kingdom. After making this review he kept Sambhājī Rāje at Panhāḷā. Janārdan Nārāyaṇ *Sarkārkun*, and Sonājī Nāīk, the door keeper (*Bankī*), and Bābājī Ḍhanḍhere were kept with him. And the (Rāje) (then) consoled his son (saying), "I am going to Rāygaḍ. I shall come back after celebrating the marriage of Rājārām (my) younger son. Then we shall decide what should be done about the burden of reigning. Thou art my eldest son. I rely on thee in every way." So saying, (he) went to Rāygaḍ.

While looking for a wife for Rājārām, the younger son, the daughter of Pratāp Rāv the former *Senāpati* was selected bride, and the marriage was celebrated. The bride was named *Saubhāgyavati*

Jānakī Bāī. Great festivities were made and many deeds of charity were performed.

After a few days the Rājā became ill of fever. The Rājā was a virtuous man and had presentiment of his death. He judged that the end of his life was come. [102] Feeling so, he summoned the following respectable courtiers among the *Kārkuns* and the Household officers, who were near:—

Kārkuns.

(1) Niḷo Pant, the son of the Pradhān, (2) Prahlād Pant, (3) Gangādhar Pant, son of Janārdan Pant, (4) Rāmchandra Niḷkanṭh, (5) Rāvjī Somnāth, (6) Ābājī Mahādev, (7) Jotī Rāv, (8) Bāḷaprabhū Chiṭṇīs.

HOUSEHOLD OFFICERS.

(1) Hirojī Farzand, (2) Bābājī Ghāḍge, (3) Bājī Kadam, (4) Mudhojī Sarakhvās, (5) Suryājī Mālsure, (6) Mahādjī Nāīk Pānsambaḷ.

These noble men were summoned (to his bedside) and (the Rāje) said to them,—"The term of my life has expired. I am going to Kailās to see the Śrī. Feeling that my body was growing weak, I said to my eldest son Sambhājī—'You two are my sons. I am dividing the kingdom between you, and you two should live in amity.' So I said. But the eldest son Sambhājī Rāje did not listen to (this counsel). It seems my end has come. Puṇā was only a *Mahāl* of 40,000 *Hons.*, since then I, Śivājī, have founded a kingdom of one *kror* of *Hons.* I have built these

forts and strongholds, organised (an army of) cavalry and infantry, but I do not see such a son as will protect this kingdom after me. If the younger prince Rājārām lives, he will extend this kingdom. Sambhājī Rāje, the eldest son, is conversed (in politics) but he is free of tongue and unwise. What should be done under the circumstances? I am departing. You are old *Kārkuns* and Marāṭhā officers of this kingdom. These things must be known to you. After me Sambhājī Rāje will take the whole kingdom in hand with great power, and the army will hail him as Sambhājī Rāje is the elder, and follow him. As Rājārām is younger, the army will not join him. The *Sarkārkuns* will side with Rājārām and propose a partition of the two kingdoms between the two brothers.[158] But ultimately the Mārāṭhās of the army will not support the counsel of the *Kārkuns*. At last, (Sambhājī) will arrest all the *Sarkārkuns* [103] after inspiring their confidence.[159] Sambhājī Rāje will murder many of the great Brahmans of our time. He will commit Brahmanicide. Then he will murder, arrest and dishonour the Māṛāṭhā officers of the army. Men of low standing and slaves will be promoted while men of rank will be degraded. Sambhājī will indulge in intoxicating drugs, smoke *gānjā* and practise debauchery. The forts and strongholds will (be suffered to) remain without commanders and the

[158] We should remember that the author was a servant of Rājārām. In Śivadigvijaya we get an altogether different account of Śivājī's death.

[159] This is not quite accurate. Some of the principal ministers espoused the cause of the elder prince while others were in the interest of the younger. Sambhājī arrested and put to death his enemies.

king will not look after their welfare. He will squander the revenue and all his wealth. He will ruin the whole kingdom. Aurangzib will march from Delhi on hearing of the evil propensities of Sambhājī. The Mughal will annex Bijāpur and Bhāgānagar. (They) will take this kingdom also. And at length Samhhājī will be betrayed. As after Mālik Ambar, his son Fate Khān ruined the Nizām Shāh's kingdom when he took up the government, so will Sambhājī ruin this kingdom. Then Rājārām will take up the administration and recover the lost kingdom. He will be more powerful than myself. So much about the qualities of my sons. Sambhājī will spare none of the older *Kārkuns* of my time. Of them (*Kārkuns*) Prahlād Pant, son of Nirājī Pant, and Rāmchandra Pant, son of Niḷo Pant, these two Brahmans will acquire great power. Niḷo Pant,[160] son of the Pradhān will also be a man of note. Some other besides these may also acquire fame. Of the Mārāṭhās, many will be ruined by Sambhājī. Of the survivors, if Santājī Ghorpaḍe, and Bahirjī Ghorpaḍe and Dhanājī Jādhava live, they will perform many brave exploits. The ruined kingdom will be recovered by these three Brahmans and these three Mārāṭhās." So said (the Rāje). The Rāje spoke like this. Everyone's throat was choked and tears began to flow from (every) eye. A great sorrow overcame them. Then the Rāje said,—" You should not be bewildered. This is but a mortal world. Many were born before us (but) they are all gone. You should

[160] These three rose to eminence during Rājārām's administration. Prahlād Nirājī became the first *Pratinidhi* of the Chhatrapati.

keep your mind unsullied by sorrow. You should all stay outside now. I will meditate on the Śrī." So saying he made them all sit outside. And the Rāje (caused to be) brought Bhāgirathī water and bathed in it. Besmearing the body with ash, (he) [104] put on *rudrāksha.* Then by the performance of *Yoga*, he took his soul to the *Brahmānd* [161] (*sic*) and made it depart by bursting open all the ten gates [162] (of the body). This happened at Rāygaḍ about the second *prahar* on Sunday, the *Śuddha* 15th of *Chaitra* in the year 1602 of the Śālivāhana Śaka era, the *Samvatsar* being Raudra by name. The messengers of Śiva then came with a heavenly car, (the Rāje) ascended it and went to Kailās. The material body alone was left in the mortal world.

On the day of the Rāje's death there was an earthquake. A comet appeared in the sky and meteors were showered from heaven. At night double rainbows became visible. All the eight directions assumed a fiery appearance. The water of the Śri Sāmbhu Mahādev tank became blood red. The fishes leaped out of the water and the water became fishless. These evil omens took place.[163]

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[161] Probably the author means *Brahmarandhra* or *Sahasrār.*

[162] Here *Brahmarandhra* is evidently counted with the other nine gates, of which the mouth, the ears, the eyes and the nostrils make seven.

[163] This long list of bad omens is not peculiar to Indian literature. St. Matthew says that similar omens were seen when Christ was crucified. "And, behold, the veil of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom; and the earth did quake, and the rocks rent. And the graves were opened; and many bodies of the saints which slept arose, and came out of the graves after his resurrection, and went into the holy city, and appeared unto

Then the Rāje's body was burnt with sandal wood and bel wood. The queens, the *Kārkuns* and the household officers all said that Rājārām, the younger son, should perform the necessary rites. Everybody lamented the loss. Rājārām also lamented much. Then it was settled that the funeral rites should be performed by the younger son. The elder son Sambhājī Rāje was not present at that time. Consequently the younger son performed the rites. This is the biography of the Rāje from the time of his birth to that of his death.

The Rāje was a veritable incarnation born (in this earth), and performed many brave exploits. His authority was invoked from the (banks of the) Narmadā to Rāmeśvar. He conquered these provinces and defeated (the armies) and annexed the

many." Matthew, Ch. 27. 51-53. Mr. Karkaria however thinks that Sabhāsad's account here is not altogether inaccurate. A comet and a tremendously big one, did appear shortly after Śivājī's death in 1680. The appearance of this comet has been mentioned by the English physician Fryer. Karkaria however is not right in identifying it with Halley's comet which appeared in 1682. As for other omens he quotes the following extract from Fryer who wrote on the last day of 1679,—"This year has been filled with two portentious calamities, the one inland, a shower of blood for twelve hours; the other on the sea coast, Mechalapatam being overturned by an inundation wherein six thousand souls perished" (Fryer, p. 414). This was four months before Śivājī's death. Writing on, January 25, 1681, he mentions a still more strange event. "This year a draught was feared (p. 418). I should have concluded these remarks here, had not a wonderful sign in the heavens appeared to call for animadversions. * * * Eleven degrees from the earth, south-east, a terrible flaming torch was seen in the skies in Capricorn * * * At first no bigger than a man's hand from its coming forth of the horizon which thence arose with a mighty flag of spinning light for more than nine degrees as big as a rainbow." Mr. Karkaria also points out that Śivājī and Napoleon died exactly at the same age and Julius Caeser was only two years older at his death. Journal of the Bom. Br. of R.A.S.

territorries of the four Bādśhāhis (on land), *viz.*, the Ādilśāhi, the Kutubśāhi, the Nizāmśāhi and the Mughlāi, and the twenty-two Bādshāhs of the sea. A new kingdom was founded and the Mārāṭhā Bādshāh became a (duly) enthroned Lord of the Umbrella (Chhatrapati). By a voluntary death he went to Kailās. None like this was born before him, and none will be born in the future. Such is the account of the Mahārājā (and) you should know this.

Whoever will copy this account of the Rāje of holy memory and keep the manuscript in his house will have unlimited good fortune. He who will read it will acquire great merit. The sonless will be blessed with sons, the poor with riches, the unlucky will acquire fame and holiness and bravery. Those who have sons will have more, and those who are rich will have more good fortune [105]. Those who are already famous will be conquerors of the world. In this manner will every one's desire be fulfilled. Understand it well. This *bakhar* is finished. The account was finished on the *Śudhha Pratipada* day of *Chaitra* in the year 1616 of the Śālivāhana era, the *Samvatsar* being *Īśvara* by name, at Jinji. I submit this for your information. What more should I write? (with respectful submission).

FINIS.

EXTRACTS FROM ŚIVADIGVIJAYA

AND

CHIṬṆĪS BAKHAR

Śivājī at Bijāpur.

S. D. [66] Then Śāhājī Rāje returned from Karnāṭak and sent for (Saubhāgyādisampanna) fortune-favoured Jijā Bāī Sāheb, and Śrīmān Śivājī Mahārāj, well skilled in war, endowed with valour and beauty, and a veritable incarnation to relieve mother earth of her unbearable burden, by the performance of notable human deeds,—from Śivnerī, desirous of seeing them,—and called Dādājī Konḍdev. Thereupon the latter made proper arrangements for the fort of Śivnerī and the *Mahāls* attached to it and [67] proceeded to Bijāpur. At Bijāpur, Sultān Muḥammad Shāh Bādshāh was ill, and at that juncture arrived Śivājī Mahārāj with his mother and officers. * * * [68] The city was under the Muhammadan Government and cow slaughter was therefore frequent. He felt disgusted * * * * * and used to say to the officers in his father's house,—"It is not good to live upon the bread of the Muhammadans and to witness cow slaughter. Death is far more desirable. I shall no longer tolerate any slight upon religion, or any act of Muhammadan injustice. If my father abandons me on that account, I shall not mind, but it is not good to stay at such a place." But who would create difference by reporting the speech to his father? The father and the son would ultimately be reconciled but the reporter's head would be lost. In this manner a few days passed. One day, when Śivājī Mahārāj was going in the train of the Rājā (his father), he heard the lowing of a

cow that was being slaughtered in a butcher's house. Śivājī had the butcher arrested and caned by his men. [69] The cow was released and its price was put into the butcher's hand. The case was reported to the authorities but they took no notice of it because of the influence of the Rājā. On another occasion also a second quarrel with a butcher took place, and the matter was similarly reported to the Government. But Śivājī Mahārāj had strictly warned the butchers not to use their knives except to kill goats, and it became known to all. The Muhammadans assembled everywhere and began to complain in the following manner,—"Has Muhammadan sovereignty come to an end now? It seems he has forgotten the day his father came from Daulatābād." * * * [70] The Rājā felt greatly troubled when he heard from common report what had happened. "The eldest son died in the battle of Kanakgirī," thought he, "Now he is my eldest son. He should manage my affairs and take care of the Darbār. He is intelligent, a good writer, speaker and rider. At his age Sambhājī acted as *Sarsubhedār* of Kanakgirī. Alone did he go on that occasion and people still remember it. In qualifications, Śivajī is his superior. It is only for some deeds of my previous birth that he has formed such evil conceptions. When he was at Śivnerī, I heard various good reports about him and I decided to bring him here and keep him near me. The reports of his good parts were verified but on his way to the *kāchāri*, the sight of the butchers' houses disturbs his spleen and he feels it very difficult to salute Muhammadans by touching earth with

his hands. If the Bādshāh comes to know of this, I shall fall into great troubles." * * * (A play mate of Śivājī, at Śāhājī's request, questioned Śivājī about this matter and got the following answer) [71] "I will not live on the bread of the Yavanas and salute them by touching earth with my hands. And if cow slaughter takes place in the city, or I hear of its occurence, I will not remain content without punishing it, whatever may be the consequence thereof." The Rājā was informed of the answer and fell in a current of thought. Vyankājī Rāje hitherto kept in Karnāṭak was brought to Bijāpur. "He (Śivājī) and I should be of one mind, but he does not like it. He is but a child. But if he stays here the difference will go on increasing and reach what climax I do not know." Thereupon it was decided to send him to Puṇā and as it was expected that the guidance of some good officer may do him good, Dādājī Koṇḍdev was asked to be ready. (Śivājī was only eight years at this time).

According to Chiṭṇīs Śivājī was seven years old at the time of his first visit to Bijāpur (p. 25).

Śivājī invited to the Darbār.

Ch. [27] It was decided to take Śīvājī to an interview with the Bādshāh. The Pant (Murār Jagdev) had highly eulogised the Rājā's son as well qualified and fit for *wazir's* office in the Bādshāh's presence. (The Bādshāh) wished him to be brought to the court, and when the Pant sent this information, an auspicious moment was ascertained. Śivājī sent the following

message to the Mahārājā—"We are Hindus and they Yavanas. They are very low—in fact there is none lower,—I feel a loathing to salute them. They commit evil deeds like cow slaughter. It is wrong to witness any slight on religion and the Brahmans. Cows are slaughtered as we pass by the roads. It pains me and I feel inclined to cut off the head of the offender. In my mind I feel disposed to decapitate the oppressor of the cows but I am helpless as I do not know what my father will think of it. But I think it wrong to associate ourselves with the Muhammadans and to visit the houses of the *amirs* and the *wazirs*. If perchance we touch them we should change our clothes.

Śivājī goes to the Darbār.

S. D. [111] The Bādshāh asked the Rājā whether Śivājī was married or not. When the latter answered in the affirmative the Bādshāh got angry and said,—"The marriage celebrated in my absence was a mere play and no marriage at all. Get him married again here." Thereupon arrangement was made for a second marriage. * * * The second wife was named Sayrā Bāī Sāheb Putḷā Baī, (Putḷā Bāī was another wife of Śivājī). There was much rejoicing but the Mahārājā did not feel well at heart after witnessing the behaviour of the Yavanas. "We are Hindus and the rightful lords of the realm, it is not proper for us to witness cowslaughter and oppression of the Brahmans." (So argued he.) When he went to the palace with the Rājā his father, the latter

made his obeisance by touching the earth with his hand. He (Śīvājī) should have paid his respects in a similar manner after his father, but he sat in the court without doing so. His conduct was discussed after the Rājā's return home. "Śīvājī Rāje is Śāhājī Rāje's son; the father and the son came together. The Rājā [112] made the usual salute but Śīvājī omitted to do so." (The Rājā learnt this and did not take Śīvājī to the court after this event). On the *Dasrā* day, however, Śāhājī Rāje wanted Śīvājī to accompany him and to behave properly. He therefore made the young friends, old servants, and constant companions of Śīvājī, and Jijā Bāī Sāheb, to counsel Śīvājī to that effect. Śīvājī in his delicacy accompanied his father. On their arrival, the Rājā made the usual obeisance, Śīvājī ought to have done so but took his seat without paying his respects (to the Sultān). The sight of the full court excited him, and in his heart arose the desire of killing the Bādshāh with the weapon he had in his hands. If his attitude was noticed by any one else the Bādshāh's favour would for ever be lost; so the Rāje kept his son behind (him) and himself sat in his front. The Bādshāh noticed it and questioned by a signal of his hand. Thereupon the Rāje said,—"He is a mere child and he had never before seen the royal court. This is the first time he comes to the Shāhānshā's court. He is scared by the crowd." Thus did he execuse his (son's) conduct and while away his time—and then (they) took leave and came home. On his return home he argued in the following manner,—"It is not at all

well to keep him here. His behaviour will appear hostile to the Yavanas and hasten the future evil.

Chiṭṇīs's account of the interview is somewhat different. According to him Śivājī had accompanied Murār Pant to the court at his earnest request. The excuse offered by Murār Pant for the omission of the customary obeisance was that, "The Rājā's son was really a learned and well qualified man, but he had never before seen the royal court. Nevertheless he was fit for the royal service." The chronicler then goes on to say—"As the Rājā's son had gone to the court for the first time, he was given jewels and a dress of honour, but on his return home he bathed and flung the dress aside." It was thereupon decided with the counsel of Murār Jagdev to keep Śivājī away till he came of age (Ch. p. 28).

Capture of Torṇā.

Ch. [30] Then he was thirteen years old. He had affectionately entertained (in his service) Māwḷes, Pāsalkar, Kank, Mālusare and other generals. With them he plotted against the fort of Torṇā within the dominions of the Bādshāh of Bijāpur. The officers of the fort were won over by the Māwḷes * * * and the fort was secured.

Unfriendly attitude towards the Muhammadans.

S.D. [114] Near Puṇā were many Muhammadan chiefs, great and small, and they used to come to see the Rājā, as the friendship of a feudatory chief

like him might be of use to them. Dādo Pant used to receive them and treat them with courtesy and favour as was due to their rank. Every one was favourably disposed towards Sāhājī Rāje, and as his son was there, Muhammadan nobles of very high rank sometimes came to see him. It was all right when they took leave after the formal expression of friendship. But on the other hand, if any of them began any conversation with soldierly familiarity that they were all servants of the Bādshāh, that they were of the same rank, etc.,—the Rājā used to get excited and said, "I am not a servant of the Bādshāh." If the visitor, unable to bear this, gave any further reply, the Mahārājā used to seize his weapon to kill him. The matter usually was reported to Bijāpur, but everybody pleaded Śivājī's childhood and Śāhājī Rāje's service.

How Śahājī excused Śivājī's Rebellion.

Ch. [31] (The first outburst of Śivājī's patriotic ambition and the consequent capture of Torṇā and other forts were explained by Śāhājī in the Bijāpur court in the following manner). "Some political intrigue on the part of some outsiders in the fort was discovered and so necessary arrangements were made in Tornā. The adjoining place was found excellent for the purpose and fortified, commanding places adjoining to my *Jāgir* should naturally be in my charge." At the same time he wrote to Śivājī and Dādājī that it was not a good thing and he wondered how Dādājī allowed such acts, when he was on the spot.

Śivājī's Education.

S.D. [72] Śivājī Mahārāj lived in the province of Puṇā and was educated by Dādājī Pant. He was taught the arts of wrestling and throwing missiles. The Rājā was a discerner of good qualities and learnt his lesson if he was told only once (by hearing only once), so keen was his intelligence. When only 11 or 12 years old, he used to pay attention to every detail of management, whether important or unimportant. If anything was done without his cognisance he used to say to Dādājī Pant,—"Should you not inform me of these things because I am young? You are my senior and should get everything done by me. * * * My father asked you to train me and (if) you act (without my knowledge), how should I gain experience? Thenceforth Dādājī Pant did not do anything great or small without consulting him.

Śivājī enlists Pāṭhān Deserters from the Bijāpur Army.

Ch. [33] Five to seven hundred Pāṭhāns, deserters from the Bijāpur service, came for employment to the Rājā. There arose a question about the prudence of employing them. "The Sultān of Bijāpur is our enemy and these are Muhammadans, how can we rely on them?" To this remark, Gomājī Nāīk Pānsamb l Havāldār, (whose service had been transferred by Jādhava Rāv at the time of Jijā Bāī's marriage, and who had been promoted in rank for his faithful services) answered, "You wish to invade

foreign deminions. If those who have come are not kept, why will good men from those kingdoms come to you?" This counsel was deemed excellent and they were enlisted.

Capture of Purandar.

Ch. [39] Niḷkanṭha Haibatrāv, a brave intelligent and ferocious soldier held the fort of Purandar, [40] built by Murār Pant, with its *Inām* villages and all dues and perquisites under the Mughal Bādshāhi, and subsequently transferred his allegience to the Nizāmśāhi. * * The army of the Governor of Aurangābād came upon his fort. His people advised him not to turn a traitor against his master, but he paid no heed. When his wife offered the same counsel she was blown from a cannon. When this news reached the Mughal army they marched away. The cruel man who had rebelled and forcibly taken possession of the fort in this manner, died. Thereupon his three sons Niḷo Niḷkanṭh, Pilājī Niḷkanṭh and Sankrājī Niḷkanṭh, these three brothers, Chāvlīkar Brahman Nāīks, began to quarrel (about the inheritance). Niḷo Pant had friendly relations with Dādājī Konḍdev and consequently enjoyed the friendship of the Mahārājā. The Mahārājā marched from Rājgaḍ towards Purandar on his way to Supe and encamped near the temple of Nārāyaṇ. The garrison of Purandar argued at that time that, as there was family dissension the fort will be captured by some enemy. Śīvājī Mahārāj was a great man and the adjacent lands belonged to him. Therefore they

decided to submit to him, and said to the three brothers,—"The Rājā Sāheb is a friend of your father, and he has come in the neighbourhood of the fort. You should go and see him, honour him in every way, and submit your case (quarrel) for his decision and do as he advises." They accepted the suggestion, saw the Rājā and invited him to come up in the fort for a bath as it was the *Dipwāḷī* day. The Rājā said that it was not nice for him to accept the invitation when his *Sardārs* were not invited. He was thereupon invited to go with all his officers. He went up and remained in the fort for three days. During those three days he listened to the cause of the three brothers. As the eldest brother did not yield to the younger two their due share, the latter decided to do homage to the Mahārājā. A diplomatic feat was thus achieved. The garrison was already favourable. On the third day when the Mahārājā was to take his leave, the two (younger) brothers informed him that Niḷo Pant had gone to bed. Some men in the fort were on the look out for an opportunity. Śivājī sent them and some of his own men and arrested Niḷo Pant. The three brothers were brought down below the fort. Order was established in the fort. It was decided that the three brothers should enjoy, their proper share of the *Inām* villages and other dues.

S.D. [121]. From the day of his coming to Puṇā the Mahārājā had maintained friendly relations with Niḷo Niḷkanṭh Nāīk of Purandar and had entertained his people. * * * When Aurangzib overthrew the Nizāmśāhi monarchy, every one left (his home) for

some foreign lands. He wanted to capture the fort of Purandar, but Śāhājī Rāje was ready with an army, and the neighbouring military stations belonged to him. He did not allow Bādshāhi force passage, so the fort was left undisturbed. It was very near Puṇā and also a good place, so the Mahārājā wanted to take it, but it was inhabited by the Koḷis and there was no good opportunity of creating disturbance. So friendship was studiously maintained. Śivājī encamped near Sāsbaḍā with the intention of leading an expedition against Nimbāḷkar of Phalṭaṇ and at that time a severe rain set in. * * On the day of the *Dipwāḷi* Niḷkanṭh Nāīk came to see the Mahārājā. Words of mutual welcome were exchanged, and the Nāīk brought for the Mahārājā many presents and invited him in the following manner,—"Your servant's house is hard by, when will you set your feet there? The *Dipwāḷi*, the festival of lamps, is the best of all festivals, and you will all kindly [122] sweeten my bread and vegetables (dine with me) for four days." This earnest invitation was accepted. Niḷo Niḷkanṭh had grown very old. Pilājī Niḷkanṭh and Śankrājī Niḷkanṭh were young. They had a conversation with the Mahārājā and then they went to the foot of the hill for a bath. Before the Mahārājā reached the foot of the hill, his brave servants raised his standard on the fort. The three Nāīk brothers got the hereditary *watan* (the eldest brother Niḷo Niḷkanṭh had the senior rights) of Nāīkship and *Inām* villages. It was settled that they should remain below the hill and serve the King.

Chandra Rāv More.

Ch. [41]. Chandra Rāv More of Jāvlī, having ten thousand men with him, had forcibly taken possession of forts and valleys. Although a friendly message was sent to him, that he should submit to Śivājī and be guided by his orders and an alliance was proposed, More, in his haughtiness, decided to take no notice of the Mahārājā and resolved to go against him. A leader of the Māwḷes, it was not easy to get hold of him. Rāgho Ballāḷ *Sabnīs* was therefore, sent to capture him by some artifice. Two hundred select men were sent with him. Rāgho Ballāḷ opened a negotiation for a matrimonial alliance and remained there waiting for decision. Finding that Chandra Rāv used to indulge in intoxicating drugs and there was disunion among his soldiers, he formed a project and wrote to the Rājā, —— "Thanks to the influence of your virtuous deeds, I shall soon finish the business of Chandra Rāv. Your Majesty should on some pretext come towards this place, I shall give you intimation after performing the stipulated deed. [42] Please, thereupon descend the Ghāṭ. The Mahārājā wrote in reply,—"As advised in your letter I have come from Rājgaḍ to Purandar and paid my respects to Śrīmahābaleśvar." In the meantime Ragunāth Pant invited Chandra Rāv and his brother Sūrya Rāv to a secret consultation and murdered them (in the room). When he came to the gate, their people became vigilant, but as they were very few he safely fought his way and came to his own men. Sambhājī Kāvjī killed Hanmant Rāv, the *Kārbhāri* of More and a soldier

of renown. The Mahārajā was at Mahābaleśvar; he bowed unto the god of that place, and when the intimation reached him came to Jāvlī by the Nisnī pass. After a battle that lasted two *prahars*, he took the stronghold and captured Chandra Rāv's sons Bājī Rāv and Kṛshṇa Rāv. They were imprisoned at Purandar. The women and the two sons were taken to Puṇā, and the two brothers were put to death at a place south of Puṇā. After a few days the women were released and Jāvlī was annexed.

II.

S. D. [128] Chandra Rāv More of Jāvlī, a servant of Bijāpur, had assembled twenty-five to thirty thousand Māwḷes. He plundered the neighbouring provinces as far as he could, enjoyed his *Jāgir*, etc., behaved like an independent ruler, but he paid an annual tribute to the Bijāpur government. The Mahārājā sent the following message to him,—"Give me what tribute you pay to the Bādshāh and be a dependent of mine. I will help you when necessary. Or I shall excuse you the tribute you pay if you serve me with five thousand followers. " The Mahārājā argued that, More was an old Mārāṭhā *Sardār* and had enlisted good fighting men; so it would not be proper to ruin him. At first the policy of conciliation should be tried and he should be protected in case he submitted. Otherwise it would not take long to punish him. So he decided. A *vakıl* was accordingly sent, but More had no regard for the Mahārājā and took no account of his officers.

"Where the master is not honoured what good result can be expected of good counsel?" So argued the officers, and after some conversation took leave of More, came back to the Rājā and reported what had happened. * * * * * [129]. The Mahārājā then went to Rājgaḍ for necessary arrangements. From Rājgaḍ he sent Raghunāth Ballāḷ *Sabnīs* with three to four hundred brave followers. Raghunāth went to Hanmant Rāv More, brother of Chandra Rāv, a brave soldier and his brother's sole representative at Johār Khore, [130] for negotiating a matrimonial alliance. Raghunāth Pant sent word to him that, as he (Hanmant) had a marriageable daughter, Raghunāth Pant had come to negotiate for a marriage on behalf of the Mahārājā. Raghunāth was asked (by More) to see him. As Raghunāth had come for a matrimonial alliance and not on a political mission, More did not take the necessary precaution (about his safety) and was careless. Finding that More was unguarded, Raghunāth Pant killed him and fought with his men at the gates. The Mahārājā had come to the fort of Purandar, Raghunāth went there by the Wāī route and reported what had happened. The Mahārājā highly lauded his soldierly qualities, bravery, intelligence, and diplomacy and gave him robes of honour. Then he argued that,—Hanmant Rāv was a very able man; now that he was dead and there was no other man like him in More's army, this was the proper opportunity for attacking Chandra Rāv. * * * Raghunāth Ballāḷ Ātre was sent with five to seven thousand Māwḷes [131] and four to five hundred *sawārs* by the route of Raḍtonḍi

Ghāṭ and the two armies arrived at Jāvlī simultaneously before sunrise. The army there was a big one, and Chandra Rāv fought with great courage for two *prahars* and offered a bold fight. * * * * Chandra Rāv More fell on the battlefield and his two sons Bājī Rāv and Kṛshṇa Rāv More were imprisoned with the women. * * * [132]. In the year 1764 of the Śaka era, the *Sambatsar* being *Chitrabhānu* by name, the two brothers were beheaded but the women and children were released.

Śāhājī's imprisonment.

Ch. [36] The Bādshāh wrote to Śāhājī Rāje—"Your son has turned a rebel and is behaving improperly. He has captured forts and plundered cities. You are a faithful *omrao* of this empire. It is not at all right (on the part of your son) to do so. You should therefore bring him to the *huzur*. The Rāje answered,—"My son does not obey me. (Your Majesty) should punish him as you please." So wrote the Rāje, but the Bādshāh got angry and did not believe him. The Rāje wrote a letter to Śivājī Rāje—(in the following manner)—"Your conduct has put me into disfavour, so it is not good. Come and see the Bādshāh and restore the forts and territories according to his order." He wrote much in this strain. Then the Mahārājā argued,—"Father is to a son as sacred as a god. His orders should be respectfully obeyed. But religion has been overthrown and in every thing the *Mlechchhas* are supreme. I should risk my life

and all (that belongs to me) for preserving my religion by overthrowing them. How can I then do what my father has asked me (to do) in his letter. I have adopted this course because I thought it more creditable. But the Bādshāh is displeased with my father on my account, and if my father feels troubled what should I do?" He was arguing to himself in this manner. Near him was his wife Saī Bāī Sāheb and the Mahārājā asked for her counsel,—"What should be done with respect to my father's letter?" "We are women," answered she, "and the *Śastras* say that women's counsel proves disastrous. There are many great and wise *Kārkuns* and *Sardārs* in Your Majesty's [37] service, you should seek their counsel. But as you have asked me, I beg to submit that, you should found a kingdom, restore the gods and the Brahmans (in their place of honour) and your desire to preserve the religion is worthy of you. Depend on God and proceed with your work. He is powerful enough to grant you success. If you have to found an empire what is the use of fond affection? The Mahārājā is far off, otherwise he too would have been pleased with your aims and achievements." The Mahārājā felt pleased with her words as he also was of the same opinion. Then he assembled his *Kārbhāris* and *Sardārs* and put the same question to them. They also gave the same counsel. It was then decided to send the following answer to be shown to the Bādshāh—"You say that the Bādshāh will extol me if I come, but I shall not surrender what forts and strongholds I have captured. On the other hand I shall capture more.

How will this please him?" But to the Mahārājā he wrote as follows,—"Strengthen your province, mobilise your army and make alliance with the Hindu chiefs. I am coming shortly, after making proper arrangements here. Then arrange to come here but proceed with caution till then." Then Śāhājī showed the letter (fit to be shown) to the Bādshāh and assured him that he had no control over his son. But the Bādshāh did not believe the Rāje as his suspicion had not been removed. At that time Bājī Ghorpaḍe was in that province. He was ordered to arrest Śāhājī by any means and bring him to the metropolis. The Rāje was then at Tanjore near Trivāpī. Ghorpaḍe invited him to a dinner and with a show of good feeling took him to his meal. He treacherously arrested Śāhājī there and took him to the Bādshāh. * * *

[38] When Śāhājī was brought to Bijāpur, the Bādshāh questioned him personally and also through Murār Pant, but he answered that he had no control over his son. Thereupon a recess was made in a wall and a hewn stone was placed at the opening. The nitch was made with sitting space for one man only, and a letter was sent to Śivājī that unless he surrendered their (the Sultān's) territories his father would be dealt with in this manner. They began to take Śāhājī out of the recess once or twice daily and then put him back into it. It was settled to block the opening of the recess with the hewn stone on receipt of the reply. The Mahārājā began to repent when he learnt this news. "The result will not be happy if I do not go. I have done this

for restoring religion. God has put my father to such troubles on my account. Nothing can now be done by diplomacy or by my personal visit. If the Mahārājā comes to such an end I shall commit suicide. I found no other way out of it. If I march upon Bijāpur and fight, they will give him more trouble." While troubled with such thoughts the Mahārājā received the following message from the goddess, "I will allow no mishap to befall the Rāje. This difficulty will be presently removed." The Mahārājā was pleased at this message and sent the following answer (to Bijāpur).—"What destiny has in store for you will happen to you. I shall do according to my destiny." Śāhājī produced this letter and said, [39]—"My son has gone out of my hands. Do with me what you like" * * * Śāhājī was then released at the prayer of Randullā Khān, Murār Pant and Sarjā Khān.

II.

S.D. [133] A letter came from Bijāpur (that ran as follows),—"Your are by heredity a servant of the Bādshāh. It is not fit that you should behave improperly (towards the Bādshāh) while you live upon his bread. I have to stay at the court, you are my son, and yet you are plundering treasuries and capturing forts without pausing to think that it will compromise me. (Its only result will be) the Bādshāh's displeasure and the loss of all we have. What I have earned is for you. You should maintain and gradually increase it. It is your duty to

keep secure what my service has procured for me in my old age. This should be your aim. But keeping this aside, you are behaving improperly. But the Bādshāh is kind, and up to this time he has pardoned your misdeeds in consideration of my service. It is now his gracious pleasure that you should stay at the court and such is also the desire of us all. You should start as soon as you get this note without any hesitation." So ran the letter, and there was a Bādshāhi letter (also) (to the following effect),—"Your misdeeds will be pardoned and the provinces will be confirmed. Come to the presence." Such was the tenor of the letter. The letter came to the Mahārājā and he gave it full consideration. In his mind he thought,—"They will put me into troubles after getting me there. If I behave according to their wish, well and good; otherwise there will be no difficulty in punishing me as I shall be within their hold. I shall not earn my living by serving the Yavanas, but my rebellion will imperil my father. But it is his destiny. * * * * But if I remain indifferent on this account, my mother will be grieved and her grief will make my mind disquiet." * * * * [134] (So he decided to take counsel of his mother and all his officers, great and small). Accordingly a *majālas* was held, and Jijā Bāī Sāheb was informed of the contents of the letter. * * * * * * [135] Jijā Bāī Sāheb said,—"What property your father has, he has earned for you. Do what may secure future good. That will please your father and do not entertain any doubt about it." Her order (counsel) was accepted with

all honour and the assembly was dismissed. Then the Mahārājā went to his first wife, fortune-favoured Saī Bāī Sāheb. As in olden days Sumitrā had welcomed Rājā Daśaratha with clasped hands after washing his feet and offering sweet scented garlands, presents, and due salutations, when he had gone to enquire after the desires of his pregnant queens, so (also) the Mahārājā was honoured by Saī Bāī Sāheb. * * * With clasped hands the queen enquired after her lord's will. The Rājā well pleased with her manner, told her all about the invitation from the Bādshāh, the danger of his father's being troubled on account of his (Śivājī's) (rebellious) conduct, and then asked for her counsel as to what should be done. [136] The queen answered,—"What do we, women, understand of politics? You should not ask my opinion. * * * But my submission is that you want a kingdom and you can win one when you have risen above affection for parents, wives and brothers." * * * * [137] Thereupon the Rājā offered his prayers to the Devī and asked for her advice. And the Devī's order was (as follows)—"See the king of the Yavanas at Bijāpur. You will fall into some dangers there but do not be frightened. I shall assist you. I take great interest in the extension of the Mahārāshṭra Kingdom." * * * Thereupon it was decided that an answer to the abovementioned letter should be given (telling) that the Rājā was coming to Bijāpur. The following was the purport of his letter to the Bādshāh—"You have written about coming to the presence. As ordered by my father, I shall start on an auspicious moment." * * (About the

confirmation of forts and strongholds recently captured by him, he wrote that, he had punished those who had defied him and disobeyed his orders, and in future also he would mete similar treatment to those who should behave so.) In the letter to his father, he wrote in addition to the above,—" I owe my birth to you but not my deeds. One owes (his) happiness or sorrow to the deeds of his previous birth. My destiny is mine. But you should not undergo any trouble on my account. The Yavanas accuse you, because you are their servant. But I will never serve them and live upon their bread. You may argue that till to-day I have eaten their bread and why should I not do so in future? From my childhood I have been acquainted with their oppression of the Brahmans, but up to the twelfth year one is accounted a child, and up to that age I lived upon your bread. You served (the Muhammadans) but I do not call myself a servant and do not serve them. Till to-day I have passed my days as a rebel; in the future the goddess will do as she likes. [138] As I have taken forts and strongholds belonging to others, so are yours in my possession. About them you should decide as is fit. I am born of you and shall come to see you once for I cannot disobey your order. You should do as appears well to you about that. I shall in this way acquit myself of the duties of a son, and in future I shall do as my fortune guides me." The letter reached Bijāpur. It was opened and read by all the *Amirs* and the *Omraos* and officers. There was not even the slightest reference to loyalty therein. The letter was written in the

style of one of equal rank. Then the letter written to Śāhājī was sent for to see whether there was anything different. In it also a son's natural regard for a father was not to be found. Thereupon suspicion was roused in the mind of the Bādshāh and he asked his officers,—"The Rājā says that his son does not obey him. What does it mean? How does the son dare capture forts and strongholds? The Rājā should be punished but how to get him into (our) power without stirring? He is a good general at the head of an army in the service of the Government. Think out what to do." Thereupon it was decided by all that the Rājā was a man of rank. He was in the service of the Government and present at the court, He could not possibly be guilty of such an offence. (If politely asked by some of his intimate friends he might frankly tell the fact.) So Bājī Rāv Ghorpaḍe Mudhoḷkar and Sarjā Khān, these two men of rank and honour, were sent for and told what had happened. They were also informed of the pleasure of the Government,—"The Rājā is a general of high rank, and it is not proper to dishonour him. You are well-wishers of the Rājā, you [139] should ask him whether he thinks it well to create rebellion through his son, while he himself stays at the court." (After this Śivājī plundered the Bījāpur territories and thereupon the Sultān summoned Śāhājī to the presence and rebuked him for his conduct.) * * * * (When the Nawāb was desired to arrest the Rājā he excused himself on the ground of his friendship with Śāhājī. Ghorpaḍe however was ready

to carry out the order of his master on the promise of promotion. Dreading however Sāhājī's power, and uncertain whether he should succeed in an open attempt, Bājī Ghorpaḍe decided to take recourse to treachery.) [143] The Bādshāh said to him,—"If you can bring the Rājā a prisoner your fame will increase and you shall be promoted." Thereupon Ghorpaḍe agreed. The handle of the axe proves the destruction of its kin. Similiar was the case on this occasion. The source of growth often proves the source of ruin also [144]. This is an old law of nature. Ghorpaḍe was ordered and he accepted his commission (willingly). He invited the Rājā to his house for a dinner, but his family was not equal to that of the Rājā. * * * * The Rājā usually dined with 150 of his relatives and dependents. Even when only one of them went away on some business, the Rājā dined when their business allowed all of them to be present. This was the custom. He did not go anywhere without their company. While making the invitation Ghorpaḍe had requested the Rājā not to bring with him many attendants as there was lack of rooms (at his place). His real motive however was to arrest the Rājā when the dishes would be served after the dance, and when the Rājā was expected to be unarmed. But it was the custom of the Rājā's family not to go or sit anywhere unarmed even when in another man's house. And this was (strictly) observed even in going to another's house. Only in his own house could he deliver his arms to his attendants when strangers were not present. Ghorpaḍe

ignorant of this, took him to the dining place. In the *kāchāri* there were one thousand or five hundred men. From that crowd the Rājā was taken into the house. While going in, he was followed by all his friends and attendants. Ghorpaḍe had secured the inside doors of the central hall on pretence of preserving the privacy of his women. There was a staircase by the side of the front door, there Ghorpaḍe stationed himself. The Rājā was to go upstairs and his company would sit below. [145] Ghorpaḍe asked the Rājā to come and have a look at the new room upstairs. After that the dishes were to be served. But suspicion arose in the mind of the Rājā and he turned back to see how many of his followers had come in. But at the preconcerted signal from Ghorpaḍe his men shut the door of the central hall. Only five or ten of the Rājā's men were with him, the rest had been left outside. Wrangling between the Rājā's and Ghorpaḍe's men increased. The Rājā did not stir though taken by hand by Ghorpaḍe and requested to follow. Ghorpaḍe then said,—"You are a traitor; while you live on Government money—your son is harassing territories of the Bādshāh. I have been therefore ordered to punish you." Hearing this, the Rājā's men drew their swords, ready to attack, but the Rājā forbade them. He then accompanied Ghorpaḍe to the Bādshāh's court, and addressed him in the following style after the usual salutation.—"I have been an evildoer towards Your Majesty. My master can punish me in whatever way he pleases. But it is not proper to have me arrested by him (Ghorpaḍe).

It is not at all proper to put a stain on one's family (honour) by assailing one's bread giver. It is on this account that I did not draw my sword. Otherwise it would not be at all difficult to punish him. I have never told an untruth until now and will never tell one in future." The Rājā stood with clasped hands and the best courtiers remarkad that the Rājā was not guilty. Thereupon the Bādshāh ordered a strict examination of the Rājā. The officers when they heard the order prepared an ash mound, as is made for practising archery, put the Rājā into it, and began to throw mud. When he was buried up to his navel, the Rājā was asked to reveal the truth. But he did not give a different answer and said—"What I formerly said is true." The mud gradually rose up to his throat, [146] but still he gave the same answer. * * [The Raja was then released at the prayer of his fellow officers and courtiers.] Hearing their unanimous opinion the Bādshāh released the Rājā, had him bathed, and presented to him clothes and ornaments and restored him to all his honours.

The Bhavāni Sword

S.D. [154] The Sāvants had an excellent *dhop tarwār* (a long and straight sword) worth two hundred *Hons*. Śivājī wished that such a famous sword should be with him. But it is not proper to wish for a good thing that belongs to one's *Sardārs* [155] or a neighbour of rank. * * * The Mahārājā wished to have the sword but it would bring him disrepute, as the precedent showed,—and so the

Mahārājā observed that the matter should not be even spoken of ;—as in another age such a cause had resulted in the slaughter of many. * * * But the sword, that had divine properties, addressed the Mahārājā in a dream.—"If thou goest to fight with me in thy hand even at the head of a small force against a mighty army, thy enemies will be routed and victory shall attend thee. Do not give the sword back, keep it always near thee and duly worship it." That very night, the Sāvant heard the following behest in a dream,—"Give the sword to the Mahārājā and secure his friendship thereby. Otherwise thou shalt lose thy kingdom. I shall no longer stay with thee and I am going away." The Sāvant assembled his officers and related all about the dream. With the counsel of all, it was decided to secure the friendship of the Mahārājā by presenting the sword. Accordingly the Sāvant came to see the Rājā and presented the sword to him. It was named Tuḷjā Bhavānī.

Āfzal Khān Incident

[Grant Duff seems to have partly followed Chiṭṇīs. Sabhāsad's account is rather obscure. It is difficult to understand why Śivājī should take Pantajī, his own envoy, into a private apartment and offer him money and rank for revealing the Khān's secret. Chiṭnīs's version that Śivājī bribed Kṛshṇājī Bhāskar is more rational.]

Ch. [51] The Elder Begam and Āli Ādilshāh Bādshāh observed that, Śivājī had turned a rebel, taken possession of provinces, forts and strongholds,

and led raiding expeditions as far as Bidar. His army and revenue had grown considerable. And it would not be well unless a general of high rank was sent with a well matured plan and punished Śivājī. He did not listen even to his father's counsel. What should be done? When this question was put, Āfzal Khān made the following determined speech,—"Is Śivājī's affair of so much importance? If I am ordered I shall go and bring him a prisoner or kill him outright." Thereupon he was greatly extolled, given robes of honour, and sent with a powerful army and vast stores. Then three thousand new Māwḷe footmen, well acquainted with the locality, were enlisted and with a total force of thirty thousand Āfzal, in his pride, marched to Tuḷjāpur. He would have committed sacrilege upon the goddess but she was removed by the officiating priest. Then the Khān came to Panḍharpur and molested the people of that place, but the image was hidden by the attending priest. Thence he marched towards Mahādev, committing oppression upon gods and Brahmans as he went.

The Mahārājā was at Rājgaḍ. It was settled at the assembly of all his *Kārbhāris* not to fight the Mughal army in an open field, and he left Rājgaḍ and came to Pratāpgaḍ. Necessary preparations were made in all the forts and strongholds and the cavalry was mobilised. When the Khān learnt the news of the Rājā's arrival at Pratāpgaḍ, he left the Puṇā road, marched towards Pratāpgaḍ and encamped at Wāī. "Sivājī Rāje has entered the thickets," thought the Khān,—"I should draw him out by some artifice

or if I can meet him personally by inspiring his confidence, I shall follow what course may then occur to me, and render (commendable) service to the Bādshāh." [55] Having matured this treacherous plan, he sent Kṛshṇājī Bhāskar on an embassy, fully intimating him of his real designs.

Hither the Mahārājā called a war council of his principal officers, as Āfzal was approaching Wāī, and put the following questions for their deliberation and decision,—"What method should be adopted in fighting the Khān? What plan should be made? Men will be spoilt, if they tried to find out the Mughal army and fight a pitched battle. The army should be cleverly kept intact and the enemy harassed" * * Deeming this counsel wise, the Mahārājā prayed to the goddess and she took possession of his body and said,—"Oh my child! why dost thou feel so troubled? Thou hast my blessings. I will remove thy difficulties and I will give thee success in this hunting expedition also. Do not be anxious." In this manner did the goddess encourage him. Bālājī Āvjī *Chīṭṇīs* and *Vāknīs* had been told to record in private the message of the goddess, when she should take possession of the Mahārājā's body, and to communicate it (afterwards to the Rāje). Accordingly he communicated to the Rāje what he had said after the divine possession. The Rāje was greatly pleased and said,—"I shall presently finish Āfzal's business. There is no anxiety. As the goddess has assured, victory will attend (my efforts). I feel exulted in my heart and there appear other auspicious auguries. My officers and men also seem to be sanguine."

As the Mahārājā finished his speech, every one observed that what the Mahārājā wanted to do did not seem difficult to them. What was this affair of Āfzal? If they were ordered to overpower him in the battlefield and to belabour him with sticks, they would certainly do so. The Mahārājā might remain quiet. When they had thus confidently concluded, the envoy of the Khān arrived. When the Rājā was informed of his arrival, he was conducted up to the fort. The interview and the usual welcome of courtesy over, he was given a residence and dismissed with the assurance that another interview would take place after dinner. He was sumptuously entertained with great honour. The next day all the principal officers were assembled and the envoy was invited to attend the court. He was asked the reason of the Khān's coming and of his oppression of the gods and the Brahmans on his way. "The Khān says," the envoy then answered, "That he and your father are fellow officers of the empire and friends. [56] They (are of the same counsel and) have no difference. Though an *Omrao* of the same empire, you are capturing forts and plundering cities and withholding yourself from the court. The Bādshāh thinks that the Rāje's son is a brave soldier and a competent man. His Majesty is pleased with you. Therefore you should surrender what territories belonging to him you have conquered and retain what foreign territories you have annexed. Śāhājī Rāje has long been in his service and he has been duly promoted in rank and honour. You are his son, and it is His Majesty's intention to confer

on you an office of great responsibility and get great services at your hands. You should be guided by His Majesty's commands and should not be inattentive to your father's counsel. His Majesty will graciously appoint you his sole *wazir*. With this intent he has sent the Khān to you. Your conduct appears to be wrong to His Majesty and he has instructed the Khān to demand explanation for everything and to take you with him (to the Bādshāh). But the Khān says that, 'what is past is past.' If you frankly obey the commands of the Emperor henceforth, all your offences will be pardoned. He undertakes to get your fief and command increased. Take what assurance you want and come and see him. Your father is a *Mansabdār* of the Empire, and as the Emperor is favourably disposed towards him, His Majesty will grant you a bigger *Jāgir* than that of your father, although you are an offender." To this sense the envoy spoke. The Rāje listened to him, and said,—"Your proposal is quite good, and what the Khān proposes is to my profit, and it is my duty to do as he suggests. What I have done is nothing but the subjugation of some turbulent Pāḷegārs, the reconquest and settlement of Government lands, the annexation of foreign territories, construction of forts and strongholds, and the organisation of an excellent army. I have thereby added to the wealth and power of the Empire." So said the Rāje and gave him leave. The envoy went to his quarters.

The next day the Rāje called the envoy in private and thus addressed him,—"You are a Brahman and

a good man. My aim is to found a Mahārāshṭra Empire. Our religion has been overthrown, gods and Brahmans are troubled, the *Mlechchhas* are supreme everywhere, every one is oppressed, my aim is to remove this state of things. If you are favourable to this idea, then tell me frankly what is in the mind of the Khān, what is his real design. I have no other question to ask you." In this manner did the Rāje respectfully address the envoy. He was a Brahman, the Rājā wanted to be the defender of his faith. His good luck, valour, and men were all wonderful. His virtue and energy were also wonderful. Therefore it seemed probable that his power would wax stronger. So he said, "The Khān wants to give you such assurances as may bring about a meeting. He is resolved to commit treachery in that interview."

[Chiṭṇīs's account does not differ materially from that of Sabhāsad on any important point. According to him, Śivājī's son and mother were at Pratāpgaḍ, and he had with him fifty-five attendants at the time of the interview. Chiṭṇīs gives the following account of the interview.]

Ch. [61] "Is this the Rāje?" the Khān enquired of the envoy. "The same," answered the latter. They rendered good wishes to each other, and as they advanced for the usual embrace, the Khān, who was tall and stout in body, took the Mahārājā by his hand, dragged him forward, held him fast under his left arm, and tried to stab him with a dagger, the Khān had in his hand. The Mahārājā had a steel armour on, and as he nimbly drew himself out, the

blow could take no effect. The Rājā was pleased that the Khān was the first to commit treachery and struck his belly with the tiger's claws, from the back. The Khān had a thin coat on. The blow was very skilfully dealt and it brought out the intestines. Then the Khān let go hold of Śivājī (whom he still held under his armpit) and shouted,—"Śivājī! You have committed treachery, this is the climax of a soldier's deed." Then he caught hold of his wounded belly with his left hand and dealt a blow at the Mahārājā, saying,—"Now feel my sword." The Mahārājā had a chain helmet on, it was slightly broken and the Mahārājā suffered a wound of a wheat's size. Then the Mahārājā said,—"Thou Pāṭhān, now feel Śivājī's Bhavānī,"—and dealt a blow at the Khān's shoulder. The wound reached as far as the belly and the Khān fell dead.

II.

S. D. [156.] Ābdul Khān had won distinction against the rebel Pāḷegārs of Karnāṭak. * * * * He came to Tuljāpur by stages. It was his design to destroy the goddess of that place,—but she warned the priests in a dream,—"Ābdul Khān is coming to defile me, therefore remove me to some other place." Thereupon the goddess was removed. When the Khān arrived, she was not to be found. On enquiry, he learnt that the goddess had fled. Thence the Khān marched to harass the god of Pandharpur and to demolish the temples of the Hindu gods. This was his life's ambition. But the priest learnt the Tuljāpur affair and he too

removed his god. [157] And he sent some Brahmans to the Mahārājā with the following message,—" It is your fond ambition to establish the Hindu faith; but the king of the Yavanas has sent a general to punish you. He has oppressed in various manners the Hindus, Brahmanas and cows of Tuḷjāpur and Panḍharpur. If you can protect us from his tyranny, then alone will Hinduism prosper. Otherwise you will save your useless life, and like stale flowers, be a source of harm to the people. What shall we do in that case but commit suicide and throw upon you the sin thereof? But if this message fires you with rightful wrath, and you exert your valour and punish the Yavanas, a quarter of what virtue we have acquired in the past and may win in future by our religious performances will be yours; but for our sin we alone shall suffer.

[From the day of Ābdul Khān's arrival at Wāī, Viśvaś Rāv Nānājī Prabhu, Musekhorekar, a *Nāīk* of five thousand Māwḷes, used to disguise himself as a *Fakir* and go to Ābdul Khān's camp every night to beg alms. He used to inform the Mahārājā of every design of Ābdul Khān as soon as he learnt it. So the Mahārājā came to know of the real motive of Ābdul. p. 159.]

According to the author of Śivadigvijaya, Śivājī was accompanied by forty to fifty select companions, when he set out to meet Āfzal or Ābdul. The following officers are mentioned by name. (p. 166).

(1) Sambhājī Farzand.

(2) Jivā Mahālā.

(3) Bābu Sāvant

(4) Mahādji Kank.
(5) Yesjī Kank.
(6) Bāḷojī Jagtāp.
(7) Hirojī Farzand.
(8) Son Mahālā
(9) Nirājī Sāvant.
(10) Kāvjī Farzand.

Fighting after Āfzal's death

The Khān was also accompanied by some attendants, according to the same author, as will be seen from the following extract.

S.D. [169] There were some ten or twenty Pāṭhāns of rank and they drew their weapons; Tānājī Mālusare, Viśvas Rāv Nānājī and other men in the Rājā's service, put the Rājā back and in his presence rendered praiseworthy service. Knowing that their *Sardār* was dead and they would not be allowed to retire, the Pāṭhāns decided to sell their lives dear and drew their swords. While the Mahārāja was stepping behind, Kṛshṇājī Pant, a brave man and the *Dewān* of the Khān, aimed his *firang* at his head. Yesājī Kank pushed back the Maharājā, and holding his weapon ready for a blow, addressed Kṛshṇāji Pant in the following manner,—"You are a Brahman. It is not your duty to use weapons. Go away, I grant you your life." But he did not pay any heed to this warning and came forward; so Yesājī Kank dealt a blow and though it had not the full effect, the wound was very severe. The palanquin bearers availed themselves of this opportunity of thrusting the Khān's corpse into the

palanquin and hurried with it. When Yesājī Kank perceived it, fifty-five men rushed on the bearers and felled the palanquin. They chopped off the Khān's head. In this manner did the Mahārājā win victory. * * * [171] A new bastion was built where Ābdul Khān was killed and it was called after him Ābdul buruj.

Jijā Bāī Congratulates Śivājī

[According to Śivadigvijaya, Jijā Bāī was in the fort of Pratāpgaḍ at that time, and Śivajī saw her directly after the affair was over. Jijā Bāī is said to have made the following remark on that occasion.]

S.D. [171] Your elder brother was killed by this man. As you are his loving brother, you espoused his cause and killed this *bhaṭāri* (inn-keeper). This will secure your welfare more and more in future.

Operations against Janjirā

Ch. [66] The Habśi of Janjirā had laid siege to Taḷe (when Śivajī was busy in checking an invasion from Bijāpur). As they troubled the people of various places by their thieving raids, Bājī Rāv Pāsalkar *Deśmukh* of Musekhore was sent with a militia force to punish them. He laid siege to Rājpurī and Kāy Sāvant, a dependent ally of the Habśi, attacked him. An action took place and both the contending generals, Bājī Rāv *Deśmukh* and Kāy Sāvant, fell in the battle. Thereupon the Mahārājā sent Raghunāth Ballāḷ *Sabnīs* with an additional force. He went and plundered and laid waste the territories of the

Habśi. The army of Janjirā attacked him but were defeated. Thereupon the Habśis of Janjirā concluded a treaty to the effect that henceforth the forts and territories annexed by the Mahārājā should not be harassed and the Mahārājā (in return) should not harass their remaining territories. After concluding this treaty, Raghunāth Pant returned with some treasure.

For some days, they observed the terms of the treaty, then they commenced their old raids again. Thereupon the Mahārājā sent Vyankājī Pant with an army. He defeated the Siddi's forces who came to oppose him, harassed them by plundering their lands and kept them down. He selected various peaks in that province and fortified them. He constructed a fort on the hill of Daṇḍa-Rājpurī. In this manner he built forts, so that the Siddis could not harass the Mahārājā's territories. [67] At various places, he stationed bodies of five to seven thousand men and prevented ingress into and egress from Janjirā. But Janjirā was a fort surrounded by water and could not be captured. The Mahārājā, however, wanted to extend his power to the sea by the conquest of Janjirā and built many ships for fitting out a fleet. The ships were of the following types,—Gurab, Tarāṇḍi, Galvat, Dubāre, Śihāḍe, Pagār, Machvā, Vabhor, Tirkaṭī and Pāḷ. Four to five hundred ships of these different types were built and five to ten *lakhs* of Rupees were spent for the purpose. Daryā Sāgar (Sārang) and Māynāk Bhanḍārī were appointed commanders and they were supplied with cannons and other requisite

materials. Warlike Koḷīs and *Khalāśīs* were enlisted and they began to raid the sea and harass the people of Janjirā. The Europeans (Ṭopīkar) in the sea were awestruck and their ships and cargo were plundered and the spoils brought to the Mahārājā. The heavy expenses of the navy were paid out of these spoils. The Mahārājā's influence was established in the sea.

Mālavan.

S. D. [174] The Mahārājā entertained a strong desire for possessing Janjirā, and he made what attempts he could, but the fort could not be captured. Then he began to fast before the sea. For seven days he fasted, and the sea was pleased, and made the following communication in a dream,—"Janjirā will not fall into your hands. Do not allow yourself to be possessed by this idea (of capturing Janjirā). In its lieu I will give you another place in the sea, equal in strength to Janjirā. Build a fort there. That fort will not fall into the hands of your enemy unless you abandon it. If any war takes place I will punish your enemy. In three years, property to the amount of three *lakhs* of Rupees will come to your house, hoard that." Thereupon the Mahārājā got up and saw that, water had suddenly subsided and rocks appeared where formerly there was unfathomable water, and an island was seen, six *cosses* in length and breadth and about ten to twenty cubits above the sea level. * * At that place a fort was built and it was called Mālavaṇ.

Fortification of Henry and Kennery and Operation against Janjirā.

S. D. [192] (Bābā Yākud, when approached, prophesied that Rājpurī would be conquered). Thereupon another new fort was built near Janjirā. The Admiral of the Navy was ordered to build another nearer to Janjirā. He quickly fortified the island of Underī. Daulat Khān and Māy Nāīk Bhanḍārī proceeded at the head of their squadrons to fortify the island of Khānderī. They were going to build a fort, but English ships came from Bombay, saw the extent of the (projected) fortification, and wrote to Yākud Khān at Janjirā. The Habśis, informed of the news, got ready and laid siege to Khānderī with the co-operation of the English, and demanded that no building should be constructed on their frontier. The forces were not strong enough to fight the enemies, so the Bhanḍārī concluded a treaty, came away amicably and informed the Mahārājā of what had happened. He took it to his heart and decided to punish the Habśis. In the meantime Yākud Khān was ordered to Bijāpur. Information was collected about the journey of the Habśi with the intention of capturing him somewhere on the way. When he reached the Ghāṭs, Śāmrāj Niḷkanṭh and Bājī Gholap were sent to him as envoys. They met him. And although addressed in a friendly manner, the Habśi felt vexed and said,—"Are you my master? He wants Janjirā. It is not at all good that one who is creating disturbance in the Bādshāhi dominions by committing

robbery should assume the tone of a great man. He will [193] be punished." So said he and imprisoned the two envoys. But beset with fear the Habśi marched by stages to Bijāpur. The Mahārājā, when informed of this, pursued him. And as Yākud Khān fled by night, the two envoys found some opportunity and escaped to the Mahārājā, who was informed of what had happened. The Mahārājā was greatly enraged. "Had Yusuf Khān the audacity of giving such a reply? Well, he will soon be punished." So thought the Rājā. And resolved to punish the Siddi, he sent about one thousand *sawārs* near Janjirā and commenced a war. Vyankājī Datto, a good soldier of known courage, was commissioned to capture (the Khān) on his way back from Bijāpur. The Khān, however, kept information about it and fled by the route of Rājgaḍ, Taḷe, Ghosāḷā and Birvāḍi. Vyankājī Datto pursued him and went as far as Janjirā. There he established military stations and harassed the country as much as he liked. As the *Rāyats* were greatly troubled, Fate Khān and Yākud Khān assembled their relatives and tribesmen and urged them to fight with courage and unity. But the behest was not liked by all, as the Mahārājā's army was strong in cavalry, elephantry, chariotry and infantry (*chaturanga senā*) and had a very large supply of military stores. "We (the Habśis) have infantry and shall have to march forward in order to fight them. They are ready to meet us at a place where they have strengthened themselves. If tired, we shall have no energy to come back after the battle and we shall lose our lives.

We should not therefore fight the enemy. We should block the roads and stop their provision and reinforcements." So said they, but their counsel was not heeded to. * * * And Siddi Ābar and Sheikh Yākud were sent for a pitched battle. They fought with great valour [194] but many were killed and the Habśis were defeated. Then they wanted to go back (to their fort) but Vyankājī Pant pursued them as far as the entrance to the fort with sword and slaughter. Thereupon they had no more desire for fighting and sued for peace. Vyankājī however paid no heed and committed great slaughter. The Habśis had no friend and the fierce fighting for exit and entry had exhausted their energy. At length they took shelter in Rājkoṭ, a place that belonged to the Habśis of Janjirā, and was near by. Vyankājī Pant, however, laid siege to the place, sieged two bends on either side of the place, placed his cannons there and opened fire upon Rājkoṭ. The fort was captured, thanks to the power of the Mahārājā's virtue.

As soon as the Mahārājā learnt the news of the capture of Rājkoṭ, he sent reinforcements under Moro Pant *Peśwā* and Daryā Sārang, (Śāmrāj, Pant was dismissed because he disobeyed the Mahārājā's order to march against Janjirā and the clothes of appointment was given to Moro Pant Pingḷe on the first *Daśamī* of *Chaitra* of the year 1584 of Śaka era. S. D., p. 197) the *Subhedār* of the fleet. They came and laid seige with the fleet. Daryā Sārang speedily built the fort of Kāsh, and the bastion of another fort to be built hard by was

finished. Cannons were mounted on that bastion and fire opened, but at that juncture Siddi Sambol came to Janjirā with the imperial fleet. He seduced some men into defection and captured five to ten men of the Mahārājā. Some of them were thrown into prison and the rest into the sea. Necessary arrangements were made (for the defence) of the fort. He plundered Dābhol, and putting his fleet in the creek of that place, began to fight Daryā Sārang. Daryā Sārang was forced out with his men and fleet and the Siddi gave him no chance of getting any help. Khair Khān was the officer in charge of Janjirā. The Mahārājā's officers stationed their guns at Nāṇvali and opened fire on Janjirā. [195] The seige was maintained by the fieet and everyone was confident of success. But Janjirā had the blessings of Mālik Sāheb, an Awliā saint, that it should be in pessession of the Habśis for seven generations. So God protected the place and all human efforts were unsuccessful.

Bhukhān the Poet.

Ch. [88] While Bhukhān the poet was living with his brother Chintāmaṇ Kavi, who was a court poet of the Emperor of Delhi, some of the domestics remarked that Bhukān spent his time at home (without doing anything). The poet thereupon said that he would not live upon the bread of the Yavanas and left home. He went to the Rājā of Kumāun, and lived at his court, diverting the Rājā's mind with his poetry. The Rājā honoured him highly and offered him a present of a *lakh* of Rupees

when Bhukhān took leave to go home. But at the same time the Rājā, in his pride, enquired whether there was another such liberal donor on the earth. The poet at once retorted that there were many such donors but the Rājā must not have seen a recipient who scorned to touch a gift of a *lakh* of Rupees because it had been offered with a proud assertion. The poet then went to the Deccan. As the fame of Śīvājī Mahārāj had reached him, Bhukhān went to his court and saw the Rājā. "If there is any enemy of the Yavanas I shall stay with him," said the poet, and the Mahārājā replied that he was the death of the Muhammadans. Thereupon the poet remained in the Mahārājā's court and charmed him with his poetry. He wrote a new book of verses, Śiva Bhukhan (Śiva Rāj Bhushaṇ) by name, inspired by the heroic deeds of the Rājā. He spent about four to five years, pleasing the Mahārājā every instant. Then he took leave of the Mahārājā for going to Delhi and the Mahārājā rewarded him with clothes, ornaments, elephants, horses, and jewels, with *lakhs* of Rupees, and insisted on his return. The poet promised to return soon and left for Delhi. The Bādshāh learnt that Bhukhān had come from Śīvājī's court after receiving high honours there, and he ordered his (Bhukhān's) brother Chintāmaṇ to bring Bhukhān for an interview. Thereupon Chintāmaṇ [89] said to his brother,—"My master wants you." "He is my master's enemy," answered Bhukhān, "Why should I seek an interview with him? Nothing but the praise of Śivājī's heroism will come out of

my lips and that will cause the Bādshāh's anger." Chintāmaṇ entreated him much, and petitioned to the Emperor that the poet would come to see him but he would sing of Śivājī's brave exploits. If the Bādshāh permitted he would bring Bhukhān. Then the Bādshāh ordered him to bring Bhukhān. Chintāmaṇ thereupon took Bhukhān to the court and the interview took place. The Bādshāh asked the poet to sing something. Then the poet said,—"Wash your hands, I will sing some heroic songs and your hands will certainly go up to your moustache. Then the Emperor demanded his reasons for washing the hands and the poet answered,—"You are fond of love poems, and when my brother sings such songs your hand touches your trousers. Therefore you should wash your hands." Then the Bādshāh washed his hand saying,—"If my hand does not go up to my moustache I will have you beheaded." Then the poet began to recite heroic poems and first of all sang of Śivājī's heroism. Then the Bādshāh said, —"I am a *Sārbabhaum*, all the feudatory chiefs render tribute to me. Sing to this effect." Then the poet described all other kings as flowering trees and compared the Bādshāh with the black bee. But he likened Śivājī to a Champaka tree for the black bee does not even touch a Champaka. Then the Bādshāh again demanded the reasons for making him wash his hands. The poet recited six excellent stanzas. When the poet was reciting the seventh, the Bādshāh, in his excitement, suddenly raised his hand to his moustache. The poet finished his song there, and the Emperor was highly pleased and

rewarded him with clothes, jewels and elephants. He honoured the poet (in this manner). The news of this incident was transmitted to the Mahārājā by his envoy at Delhi, and he was highly pleased, and ordered the poet to come back and had him brought. In this way did the Mahārājā test each man like jewels and promoted and kept them.

Phirangojī Narsālā's defence of Chākaṇ.

S.D. [216] Śāistā Khān reached Chākaṇ, beseiged the fort, mounted his guns (on a bastion) and began to fight. Narsālā Phirangojī, *Havāldār* of the fort defended it for nine months with great valour. The Mahārājā was engaged in some other exploits. Reinforcement was sent but it did not reach the place. Śāistā Khān made all necessary arrangements and then ran a mine. The north-eastern bastion was blown off and the Mughal army was prepared to try an assault. Narsālā, a great man, knew that he was now helpless and capitulated on condition of safe retreat. The Khān highly eulogised the *Havāldār* on that occasion and expressed an earnest desire to have him (in his service). But Narsālā was a man of honour and integrity. He answered, "I have eaten the Mahārājā's bread and styled myself as his servant. I cannot be disloyal to him and serve you. I shall go back to the Mahārājā and continue in his service." * * * * [217] Śāistā Khān was highly pleased and said, "If Śivājī Rājā does not keep you then come to me." But Narsālā thought that his parent (Śivājī) will not forsake him as he had committed no treachery and only submitted to the

Yavanas as no reinforcement came. If chance offers, one should save his life and that was why he had capitulated. Under these circumstances he had to submit to the Yavanas. With such thoughts he came to the Mahārājā and explained what had happened. But the Mahārājā thought,—"A servant of mine has submitted with humility to the Yavanas and surrendered a fort to them. To-morrow other officers will follow a similar course and there will be no discipline. Therefore I should punish him. If he is really an honest man, he will stay at home. If on the other hand he is a dishonest self-seeking fellow, he will go over to the Yavanas. It will not then be at all difficult for me to punish him." With this intent he dismissed Narsālā and the latter, much distressed, went back with all his horse and men to Śāistā Khān. With profuse praises he enlisted Narsālā into his service with five hundred men, and commissioned him to take charge of a military station at Malkar, a village in the *Parganā* of Chākaṇ. The Mahārājā however was informed of it and sent Netājī Pālkar. He went with an army, gathered information, captured Narsālā *Havāldār*, [218] and brought him back. He was appointed *Havāldār* of Bhupālgaḍ on taking an oath of fidelity.

Śāistā surprised at Puṇā.

S.D. [219] The Mahārājā had excellent knowledge of every house at Puṇā. From Rāygaḍ he came to Rājgaḍ for carrying out his project. There he selected his men. Then he came to Sinhagaḍ and thence made an enquiry about where Śāistā Khān

usually stayed, where he slept and where he sat. Carefully collecting every information about the Khān's daily routine, the Mahārājā matured his plan of going to Puṇā. If he went by the usual road he would be noticed by the watchmen, and the news would reach the enemy who would consequently be careful. So the Rājā decided to go to Puṇā by a bye-road under cover of night and started out with Śāmrāji Pant. Harm would befall him if he pursued any other course, so he decided to go by a bye-road. Some men were sent to the pass of Kātraj to light a continuous line of torches by the road side. They bound torches to the trees by the roadside and also to the horns of the cattle, arranging that on a signal the torches should all be simultaneously lighted as soon as the expedition left Puṇā. The Rājā descended with his men by the pass of Ḍonjā but it was arranged that he should return by another route. He had with him five to seven thousand select men. [220] With them he went to Ambilbāḍā and there addressed his followers in the following manner,—"Will you bring me the head of Śāistā Khān? He who has the courage should come with me and he who lacks it should save his life and go back. I have become a *Fakir* for the sake of Hinduism. Though I had both wealth and kingdom I have thrown myself into this current. Those who are my real followers will come with me. Success and failure lie with the goddess. Speak out frankly." His followers answered without hesitation,—"Mahārāj! You are our master, father and mother, and our religion is common to us all. While you lead

us we know no fear. What do we care for Śāistā Khān? We can defy even the most powerful foe, such courage has your bread infused into us." * * * As settled before, the roads were barred without giving the enemy any cause of suspicion, and four to five hundred men were stationed in an orchard very near Puṇā, and the Rājā himself entered the house with ten to twenty brave and expert swordsmen. He stationed one or two of his companions to keep watch at different places as he proceeded and entered the house in person. He took with him Yesājī Kank and Tānājī Mālusare. These three entered the house and came near the harem. Eunuchs were on the watch there. Perceiving the light of a lamp, Śivājī and his men changed their course and entered the Rangmahāl. Śāistā Khān's son was sleeping there. The Rājā saw him and mistook him for the Khān. He unsheathed his sword which in those days was called a *firang*. He drew his *firang* and struck a blow. That blow sent the Khān's son to Yama's place. [221] The blow was a powerful one and his body was severed into two. The noise woke his wife and the sight frightened her. The Mahārājā asked in a threatening tone,—"Is this Śāistā Khān? Speak out. If you speak an untruth I will put an end to your life." And all her limbs shook with fear and she became inarticulate. * * * Fearing that he would really kill her she simply said, "His son." Śāistā Khān's son died in his sleeping chamber,—the husband was killed,—and she was utterly overcome with the fear of death. When the Mahārājā commanded her to show where Śāistā

Khān was, she had to stand up to point out (the place). But she was in a great dilemma and stood there motionless. "He is at such and such a place," said she. Śāistā Khān was sleeping in another room hard by. The Mahārājā went that way and entered the room. The naked sword shining in the light of the lamp attracted the notice of the Khān's wife who was somewhat awake. She got up, and in her fright stood with her back towards the Rājā. When ordered to move off she understood that assassins had come to murder the Khān, and deeming her own life of no account placed her head at the Rājā's feet, and humbly beseeched him not to kill her husband. The Khān also awoke, but as he saw the Mahārājā, he had not the firmness to muster courage and take arms. So he covered his face with one end of his *śelā*[1] and pretending sleep lay still on the cot in his fright. The lady's piteous appeal touched the kind-hearted Rājā and he granted her prayer saying, [222] "If I do not kill him, he will get up, raise an alarm and pursue me as I go hence. I shall not in that case be able to get through it safely. Therefore it is necessary to kill him. I shall however save him on condition that he will leave my house and remain here no longer. As a punishment I will take off his fingers, and he should raise an alarm and order a pursuit only after I have safely left the place. Till then he must keep quiet." The lady agreed to these terms and raised Śāistā Khān and made him agree. Śāistā Khān and his wife then took oaths in confirmation of their promise. Then he cut off the fingers of Śāistā Khān's right hand and led him to the gate of the house.

"Leave my house to-morrow or I will kill you," said the Rājā, and let off the Khān's hand when he was outside the gate. In this manner did the Mahārājā return after achieving success.

II.

Ch. [97]. The Khān on his arrival laid siege to Chākaṇ first. There was a cavalry leader named Sambhājī Kāvjī; he was so stout and strong that he could lift a horse, and he was as brave as he was strong. The Mahārājā was displeased with him for some reasons and he joined the Khān with his cavalry regiment. Bābājī Rām Honap *Deśpāṇḍe* of Puṇā had also gone forward to Barhāṇpur and joined the Khān. They were entertained and honoured for their local knowledge.

The fort of Chākaṇ was defended by Phirangojī Narsālā *Havāldār*. The Khān blew off the bastion of the north-eastern corner by tunnelling, and the fort was captured. Narsālā accepted a *kaul* and capitulated with the Mahārājā's permission. Although the Khān wanted to keep Narsālā extolling his bravery and generalship and promising to promote him, the latter refused the offer and came back to the Mahārājā. The Mahārājā remarked that Narsāla had shown the climax of soldierly courage and conferred on him the *Havāldārship* of Bhupālgaḍ. After capturing Chākaṇ the Khān encamped at Puṇā.

[Chiṭṇīs's account of the preparatory arrangements for surprising the Khān is practically the same as those of Sabhāsad and Śivadigvijaya, but his version

of the actual encounter with the Khān is somewhat different.]

[98]. The Khān's son was sleeping, he was beheaded and killed where he slept. Then the Rājā entered the Khān's tent and sat on his chest. As he was going to strike the blow, the Khān's wife awoke, saw him, and fell at his feet. She was asked to be silent but she entreated the Rājā not to kill the Khān. "Grant him his life and me my bracelets." (Bracelets signify that the lady is not a widow.) In this way did she piteously implore. The Mahārājā's heart was melted but he argued,—"I personally came and did this deed, but I have to go out of this camp safely and join my men. What should I do about that?" Then he again thought within himself,—"What cause of anxiety is there if the Khān, thus saved, leads an expedition? I will punish him and kill him on the battle field." So he carefully held the Khān down, placed his sword on his throat, and with one hand applied the tiger's claws to his belly. Then he addressed the Khān in the following manner, "Come with me without speaking as far as I lead you by hand. Go back when I release you and call yourself Śāsta Khān as some sort of punishment will be inflicted; your ladies should also come with you." [99]. To this effect did he exact from them both oaths on their honour and the Kurān, and he threatened to kill the Khān in case he made any noise. Then the Rājā struck off two fingers of the Khān's hand. Śāistā Khān was utterly awe-stricken. Śivājī then caught hold of his hand and led him with his wife to the picket and joined his

men by the same way as he had entered. "I am Śivājī, if thou leadst an expedition (against me) I will punish thee. Go back therefore without fighting, or I will kill thee." So said the Rājā and then joined the men stationed outside the camp. With them he went to his followers near the stream called the Āmbe and then sounded the bugle of signal. His men thereupon lighted the torches on the Kātraj hill and sounded their horns. The Khān, greatly frightened, returned to his camp without making any noise. He was even ashamed to tell people that his son was killed. In the meantime a noise arose among the *khojās* and the watchmen, and a noise arose in the army too that the enemy had made a surprise attack. Men got ready and began to run in four directions by the road to Kātraj. In this confusion they were all dispersed. Some began a flight and others got ready and rushed in the direction of the suspected attack. In the meantime the Mahārājā united his men stationed at different places by the prearranged signal and reached Sinhagaḍ well guarded and victorious. Although he had laid his sword on the Khān's throat, the Mahārājā took it off and let him go with some punishment as formerly Śrī Kṛshṇajī had done with Kāliya at the entreaty of his wife. In the morning the enemy forces went to the thickets and discovered that torches had been bound to the branches of trees and horns of cattle. Finding that it was not a surprise attack, they came below Sinhagaḍ and halted there. The guns of the forts opened fire and the flag elephant of the enemy was killed. [As rain set in Śāistā Khān retreated with his army to Peḍgānv.]

Śivājī avenges his Father's Arrest.

S. D. [198] A letter came from Śāhājī Rāje to the Māhārājā,—[199] "Bājī Ghorpaḍe took me to the Bādshāh, and in my old age entertained me with excellent hospitality. Thanks to the blessings of our ancestors and the favour of the gods, you have no deficiency of wealth, but still you are behaving improperly. You do not pay any attention (to my counsel) even if I write to you. What property I have earned will be of use to you. You should pay full attention to what may improve or impair it; and so behave as it may continue undiminished in future. But the counsels in my letter appear injurious to you and you behave according to the dictates of your own mind. * * * We had prayed for what was due to our good deeds of previous births and you were born. You are now exerting yourself and you are an expert in what you have undertaken. My prayer is that through God's blessings your heart's desire may be fulfilled, and you may enjoy ever increasing wealth being always well bathed in the stream of tears from the eyes of enemy women. Entertain Ghorpaḍe Rāje with notable respect. I need not write at length about it. He has done me great fovours and you must have heard of them." The letter greatly enraged the Mahārājā and he went to Panhāḷā. Thence he gathered information and led an expedition to Mudhoḷ, the fief of Ghorpaḍe. Two to three thousand men were put to the sword and fire was set to Mudhoḷ. Bājī Ghorpaḍe, his son, and all the family were beheaded. Only a wife of Bajī Ghorpaḍe, and Akājī Ghorpaḍe, her son, survived as they had gone to the lady's father's place.

Jaya Sing's Expedition.

Ch. [101] Jaya Sing appreciated the Rājā's character and power of conquest. "This king is a very virtuous Hindu,"—thought he—"He will restore the religion. He rules his kingdom with justice. He should somehow be saved and at the same time the Bādshāh's interests should also be served by diplomacy. If we fight against him no one knows what will be the result, victory or defeat. His army and stores are good, [102] he is himself a diplomat, his strongholds are excellent, and every thing else is to his advantage. Moreover other generals had to retreat unsuccessful; it will be bad if the same thing happens to me. I should therefore (manage to) go with my honour (intact)." Arguing in this manner, he decided to seek the Mahārājā's friendship and sent an envoy with the following message,—"Aurangzib is the mighty ruler of the Earth, you should make friendship with him. The ultimate result of hostility will not be good. I am a Hindu and Rājā of Jayapur,—you are a Śisodiā of the Udayapur family. You are a scion of a great family, and the defence of our faith is traditional in your family. Your efforts are directed to that end. I am therefore favourably disposed towards you. It is my earnest desire te save you and to maintain your kingdom. Let me know what is your intention." When this message was sent the Mahārājā deliberated thus,—"It is the Śrī's order that I should go to Delhi once, see our eastern provinces and visit the Ganges and the holy places. It is therefore well that a friendly proposal has come. I should, therefore, receive (the

envoy) with honour and respect and send my own envoy with him." This decision being approved by all, Raghunāth Bhaṭ Paṇḍit Rāv was sent on an embassy with horses, elephants and servants. Clothes of honour were sent to Jayasing Rāje and the Khān. When the Pant obtained an interview, he submitted the following proposal of the Mahārājā in course of his negotiation,—"You say that I should make friendship with the Bādshāh and (I know) I should do so. But what territories and forts I possess I have won by my own prowess. They were foreign territories (previous to my conquest). They should not be disturbed by the Bādshāh and peace should be maintained. It is necessary to me that I should secure promotion and advancement by a personal interview. We have therefore no difference of opinion." Hearing this frank proposal Jaya Sing Rāje answered,—"As you have restored and defended the overthrown Hindu religion, I am pleased with you. As Rām Sing is my son, so are you. By my oaths I assert I have no other intention. Let me know what you want me to get for you from the Bādshāh and we will decide (our future course) accordingly." Having answered him in this manner, Jaya Sing arranged an interview between the envoy and Dilel Khān. Clothes and jewels, the envoy had brought, were persented to Dilel Khān and he was made acquainted with the purport of the negotiation. His (Dilel's) counsel taken, Jaya Sing gave clothes to the Paṇḍit Rāv and then sent him back with a dress of honour and jewels for the Mahārājā.

[103] The envoy came back and acquainted the Mahārājā with the proposal of Jaya Sing. The Mahārājā then wrote out his own intents,—"What territories I have conquered should be all left to me. Besides them the *Chauth* and the *Sardeśmukhi* of the Deccan should be granted to me. What forts and strongholds I have built or captured should be continued in my possession and friendship should be concluded." With this message the envoy was again despatched. He went and produced the paper. Jaya Sing was thereupon convinced that the Mahārājā wanted to conclude peace.

[It was settled that terms of peace should be settled after an interview with Śivājī but Dilel Khān protested that no terms should be settled without previously obtaining the Imperial sanction. In the meantime he proposed to make an exhibition of their power by capturing Purandar and Sinhagaḍ. As Jaya Sing was not agreeable, Dilel Khān tried to storm Purandar without waiting for Jaya Sing's co-operation, but he had to return unsuccessful. Śivājī naturally resented this breach of faith and the subsequent negotiation according to Chiṭṇīs was very humiliating to the Mughals]

Difference between Jaya Sing and Dilel.

S. D. [236] Then Śāistā Khān was recalled and another expedition was sent with Jaya Sing as Commander-in-Chief, and Dilel Khān as his second. He came to Aurangābād and made every necessary arrangement for the province. Thence he marched

to Sinhagaḍ and constructed a battery. The Mahārājā decided to go to Purandar, encouraged his men, went out and reached the fort. He used to assemble his men there, go to Rājgaḍ, destroy the battery, or failing that, provision the fort; and in this manner was the fort defended for sometime. As he used to lead the assault upon the battery personally and the casualty was very great, the Mirzā Rājā raised the siege of Sinhagaḍ when he learnt the news of the Mahārājā's coming, and applied himself against Purandar. The Mahārājā's men stopped all provision as far as Peḍgānv. They also used to harass the roads, fall upon the enemy force, and destroy the batteries. At that time the Mirzā Rājā and Dilel Khān had erected a battery on the hill near Rudramāḷ, and mounting their guns thereon, opened fire, and balls began to hit the fort. Another battery was erected on the Nārāyaṇ side, but the garrison used to sally through the Kedār gate and destroy the batteries. The garrison could not be defeated and the Mirzā Rājā thought,—"The Mahārājā has risen to re-establish the Hindu faith, and if I offer him any hindrance it will cause the disappearance of religion. This is not at all good. Men, money, heart and luck are all in Śivājī's favour. So long as time (fate) is not against him, he will not be defeated. It is better that I should unite with him and maintain Hinduism. If I try to injure him, [237] well,—he singly killed Ābdul Khān and punished Śāistā Khān and destroyed many armies,—and what weight have I? If each fort defends itself for one year I cannot conquer the

province. Therefore I should conclude a treaty, and winning him over by a peace, we should conduct our projects in unity." When Dilel Khān learnt this he grew very angry.—"All Hindus are one (at heart). They have their eyes on the destruction of the Bādshāhī empire. But why should I care? I will myself (singly) punish him." So thought he, and made an assault on Purandar. Murār Dādājī Prabhu *Deśpāṇḍe* with five thousand Māwḷes and Konkanese beat that assault back. * * * *. The courage of the garrison surprised him and he realised the correctness of the Mirzā Rājā's decision. Success could be attained only in that way and not by fighting.

Ch. [104] At sunset Rājā Jaya Sing sent the following message to Dilel Khān,—"What you are doing is not proper. Of Śivājī's men each is the other's superior. Therefore the fort cannot be captured. If you lose so many men for one fort, how can we expect to conquer the strongholds in the dense forests like Konkaṇ frontier? What will you do to capture the impregnable forts in the forests of Sahyādri? Śivājī Rājā was coming for a diplomatic settlement, but you have not only averted that but lost his confidence too. You have upset (my) diplomatic efforts. What course should be followed now?" In the meantime an officer named Ṡultān Ḍhavā had been sent with an army to lay siege to Sinhagaḍ; news came that the Mahārājā had routed him by four or five surprise attacks in the early morning and plundered the army. There upon the Khān was cooled down and he addressed

Jaya Sing as follows,—"Do what will bring about the interview and inspire the Rājā's confidence. But I constructed batteries against Purandar and led an assault upon it. I had taken a vow for capturing the fort but it was not fulfilled. [105] Therefore he (Śivājī) should raise our standard on the fort but it will be returned to him by treaty again. Do this much and the rest may be done according to the former negotiation." "I shall try and see what can be done," answered the Rājā. The Māhārajā and Jaya Sing were of the same mind. The envoy had been sent away simply because of the Khān's obstinacy, but in reality they held the same view. An envoy was again sent (to Śivājī) with the following message,—" What is done is done. The terms previously settled should be now confirmed. Our standard should be only once raised on the fort but the fort should remain yours. Concede this much only." To this message Śivājī answered,—" Your standard cannot be raised on the fort. The Khān may visit the fort with one thousand followers in any manner he likes." Thereupon it was settled that the Khān should visit the fort. Two thousand select men with excellent military stores had been carefully stationed in the fort, and the Khān was taken above when the principal hall was made ready for an assemblage. The Khān noticed that the military stores in the fort were excellent and if any treachery was attempted he would himself suffer. He therefore came below and felt ashamed. "The project cannot be successfully carried out. It is difficult

to capture the fort as the Rāje has stationed excellent men (there), and they fight to the best of their power." So thought the Khān and he returned to his camp. It had been settled that a personal interview (between Śivājī and Jaya-Sing) should take place. But the Rājā sent the following message,—"The Khān captured Rudramāḷ by erecting batteries. It should first be restored and the army should be withdrawn from Purandar,—the interview should take place afterwards." Thereupon Rudramāḷ was restored, the army was withdrawn and the Paṇḍit Rāv was again despatched. "How can we believe you?" said he,—"Although some terms had been settled, you committed a breach of the treaty; how can a meeting be arranged now? Some assurances should be given." Thereupon the Khān and Jaya Sing gave assurance.

Śivājī Demands Janjirā from the Mughals.

S. D. [240] The Mahārājā issued orders for delivering the twenty-seven forts, according to the terms of the treaty, but demanded the possession of Janjirā, and both Jaya Sing and Dilel Khān agreed to give it. But Siddi Sambal and Yākud Khān, when ordered to surrender the fort, replied that they would do so as soon as a *Sanad* from Delhi was produced, not otherwise. Every other place had been garrisoned according to the *Sanads* of Mirzā Rāje and Dilel Khān, but the Habśis did not deliver Janjirā and demanded a letter from Delhi. The Mirzā Rājā became displeased in vain. The Mahārājā

answered,—"You require sanction from Delhi. Therefore get the proper guarantee from that place and give up the fort. When I get Janjirā I will surrender the twenty seven forts including Trimbak, and I am quite agreeable to the other terms of the treaty."

[Śivājī, it appears, went to the imperial court to press this point]

Śivājī goes to the Imperial Court.

Ch. [110] The Rājā went to Muttra and in a few days visited Gokul Bṛndāban. While leaving that place a Chaube Brahman of Muttra came before him. As the Mahārājā was going to sit upon the elephant, he saw the Brāhman and remarked,—"Foolish Brahman, you have come at an improper moment." (It was a bad omen). [111] The Brahman also answered in the same spirit,—"I am not a fool, Rājā! but you are." The Rājā then called the Brahman near him, took his hand, and begged his pardon for his rude speech. Then the Rājā respectfully asked the Brạhman the reason for calling him a fool. The Brahman said,—"What I have said is true, and what you have said is proper too. I should not have come before you at such a time but I came inconsidarately. Why I called you a fool? Well, the Emperor of Delhi is as cruel as Rāvaṇa. You are going to see him with a small force after you have bravely conquered his territories, and you are taking with you your son also. What judgment have you shown in this? You have not done right."

The Rājā listened to him and admitting that he was right, respectfully gave him clothes and money and conferred on him the priesthood of that place. He granted him an annual allowance of five hundred Rupees, and gave him a village of that income in that very province, and arranged that the grant might be continued to him by requesting Rām Sing. That grant is still continued. Then he took the Brahman with him and proceeded to Delhi. On his arrival at Delhi, Rām Sing informed the Bādshāh that the Rājā had come for an interview. Thereupon the Bādshāh ordered that the Rājā should be brought on an auspicious day. Thereupon an auspicious day was ascertained and (Rām Sing) took the Rājā for an interview.

On that day the Bādshāh arranged the royal court very carefully and assembled all the principal nobles. Rām Sing had carefully tutored the Mahārājā about the customary proceedings that such an occasion demanded, as for example a *nazar* before the interview, obeisance and salutes, etc. He had told the Rājā to observe the customs of the court and to serve the purpose for which he had come. The Rājā agreed but when he went for the interview he felt a strong disinclination for saluting the Emperor by touching the ground with his hands, and in contradiction to the advice previously given, omitted to salute the Emperor. Then Rām Sing noticed this and came forward with the *nazar*. The Bādshāh signalled (the Rājā) with his hand to stand among the *Amirs* on the right side and the Rājā went where the Khān, the *wazir*, and Rāje

Yasvant Sing of Mārwāḍ stood, and instead of remaining standing he sat above them. Rām Sing noticed this and he himself stood in front of the Rājā. When questioned by the Bādshāh (by a sign) Rām Sing said,—"The Rāje is a *Dakshini*, he has not seen the imperial court before." The Bādshāh realised [112] that the Rājā was a man of firm determination. He applied a handkerchief to his mouth and with a smile admired him. Then he made the customary enquiries about the time of the Rājā's arrival, his business, etc. The Rājā also made appropriate answers. As the *Sanad* was produced, the Emperor gave the Rājā betel leaves of leave and permission to retire to his quarters.

Śivājī interviews Aurangzib.

S. D. [245] Rām Sing met him there and made the substance of the Emperor's speech known to him. The interview was to be according to the manner and style of one that Śāhājī had, when he had visited Bijāpur. "After due salutations you will answer what he will ask, or you will point your hands to me and I shall submit your prayers and get them granted" [said Rām Sing]. The Rājā answered, "The interview should be on terms of equality. I will not salute a Turk by touching the earth with my hands." Rām Sing's reply to the Rājā's objection was that as the Mahārājā had come to the Emperor for his own interest, it would not be wrong to pay respects in the prescribed form. "Get what you want and when the Emperor will go to your

place, demand an interview on terms of equality. Until that time do not think of it." Rām Sing then explained to him the usual limit to be observed in approaching the throne and in speaking there. The Rājā listened to him but in his own mind he thought,—" I am an independent king of the Hindus, why should I make obeisances? What do I care for this Turk? Has my position at all been affected because I have come to Delhi?" When asked by Rām Sing he went for the interview. On the right near the imperial throne was the place of honour of Rohilā Khān *wazir*. The Mahārājā sat there. Sambhājī Rāje was near him and so was Rām Sing. Rām Sing first made his obeisance and then stepped aside to enable the Rājā to pay his respects, but he lost his corporal consciousness [246]. He was greatly excited and thought,—" I am a *Sārbabhaum* King, why should I salute a Yavana?" The Mahārājā in his rage appeared to be the Yama himself armed with the rod of death (*danda*) for punishing the world on the day of extinction. The Emperor noticed it but he understood the case and was calmed when Rām Sing remarked that the Mahārājā was a *Dakshini*. Then Aurangzib addressed the Mahārājā in the following manner,—" You have come a great distance. I have heard much about your deeds and I am highly pleased to see you. What I have heard of you is really true. You are really a man of extraordinary capacity." Such was the regardful speech made by the Emperor, and then he presented to the Rājā and his son a necklace of pearl, a pearl *turā* (tassel), a head dress and clothes.

The Mahārājā replied,—"You wanted to see me and sent a friendly invitation, so I came. You say I have come far, but this is my country, so the question of distance does not arise at all." In this manner did he speak. Then Rām Sing got the signal for going away and he did the same thing to the Mahārājā. He and his son got up without making the usual salute, to retire to the house appointed for them. ..

Śivājī's night visits to his forts.

S.D. [262]. To find out whether proper watch and caution were observed in every fort, the Mahārājā used to go before the forts all alone and exhort the garrison to open the gates.—"I am come. The Mughals are pursuing me, open the gates and take me in."—So he would say. And when the *Havāldār* opened the gate and took him in, the Mahārājā would censure him severely and sometimes dismiss him. This happened at one or two places. He paid a similar visit with Bāḷājī Āvjī to Panhāḷā, and he asked at the guard room below the fort for permission to enṭer, but was forbidden by the garrison. "You are no doubt our master," said they, "But you should first get the permission of the *Havāldār* and then enter." Thereupon he proceeded as far as the gate guarded by a sepoy. When the *Havāldār* got the information, [263] he came on the rampart with other officers of the fort and they made their obeisance from that place. The Mahārājā appealed in various ways,—"I am fleeing pursued by an army. Open the gates and take me in.

But the Prabhu *Kārbhāri* of Panhāḷā and the *Killedār* answered,—"We will open the gates at the time fixed (by the military regulations) and not before that." A bed was let down from the wall for the Mahārājā's repose but the gate was not opened.

Vyankājī and Rāghunāth Nārāyaṇ.

Ch. [131] Nāro Pant's son, Raghunāth Nārāyaṇ, was a learned man of great intelligence and ability. After Śāhājī's death he conducted the administration, preserved the estate and made considerable addition to the treasury. So long as Vyankājī Rāje was a minor he was guided by him. But afterwards though he had little power and application, Vyankājī aspired to take the Government into his own hands. But he was wanting in intelligence and could not act as instructed. So he began to dislike the doings of the *Kārbhāris* and great men and promoted low people and listened to their advice. Thereupon Raghunāth Pant perceived that it would be difficult to maintain the influence won by his father in the service of Vyankājī. It was true that Vyankājī was his master, but the power and influence of Śivājī Mahārāj was daily increasing and he too was an owner of the kingdom. He might therefore blame Raghunāth. It appeared fit to Raghunāth that he should remain indifferent (to worldly matters) performing baths and prayers and live at holy places. But it would be a stain on his faithful service, if the kingdom suffered any diminution while he was still alive. Therefore Raghunāth decided to offer

Vyankājī some counsel. So he began to watch the Rāje's doings indifferently, and when the Rāje did something wrong he admonished him in the following manner.—" Rāje Sāheb! We are your ancestral servants. We know that it is beneficial to us to bring about your good and we work to that end. But you do not think well of our work. It is not good that you keep the company of low people. As your father earned celebrity, [132] so has your brother Śivājī Rāje extended his fame all over the world by the extension of his kingdom. As you are his brother, you too should do similar things, or Śivājī Rāje will complain that nothing was done although I was near you. You should accept our service and it is our duty to serve you. Although you have men and money at your command you are idly wasting your wealth at the hands of unfit men. One can justify one's birth in a celebrated family only by acquiring more fame than his ancestors." In this way did he admonish him, but his counsel had no effect on Vyankājī Rāje and he went on treating him (Raghunāth) with greater slight. Even his good counsels appeared to Vyankājī as bad. Thereupon Raghunāth wrote everything to the Mahārājā and the Mahārājā wrote the following letter,—" You are indifferent (to state affairs). You are paying your men for nothing without making any exertion (for conquest). Father gathered able and faithful men, you slight them. This is not proper." But low people had greatly confused his judgment. The Pant then thought,– " We have eaten his bread from the time of my father. Therefore it is not proper to

wish evil of him. It is therefore well to go to Śivājī Rāje, his elder brother and an (equal) owner of the kingdom." After he had made this decision Vyankājī once rejected his counsel and told him that he was nothing but a servant and should do as he was ordered. "It is true, Oh Rāje! that I am your servant," Raghunāth Pant promptly retorted,—"But if I leave your service I am fit to occupy half your seat." The retort was very galling to Vyankājī. Then the Pant took leave of his family. "I shall see Śivājī Rāje," thought he,—"What I have asserted here in course of my speech I should verify by my deeds." "But," he thought, "It will be disgraceful to carry out my threat by making an alliance with the Pāḷegārs and thereby causing harm to the kingdom. Śivājī Rāje is very fond of conquering new dominions and he is making new annexations every day. I should go to him." So decided Raghunāth. But as he was an old servant of Śivājī's father, he did not feel it proper to meet him without accomplishing any thing. Śivājī respected diplomatic achievements. Therefore Raghunāth decided to go with projects about the southern principalities and matured his plans about Jinji and other places. [133] He decided to place this kingdom under the new Rājā and with more diplomatic projects left Karnāṭak for going to the Mahārājā.

At that time the Pant argued in his mind that the kingdom of Bijāpur was greatly loosened and repressed, but the kingdom of Bhāgānagar lay on the Mahārājā's way to Karnāṭak. This would appear as a difficulty to the success of the project and the

Pant therefore came near Bhāgāṇagar with the intention of effecting a friendly alliance with the Bhāgānagar Government (by diplomacy). Akāṇṇā and Madaṇṇā Pant were acting as *wazirs* there with sole power (of administration). How to meet them? Madaṇṇā Pant used to entertain Brahman scholars with great honour if they went to his house. Raghunāth Pant kept all his attendants at a distance of ten *cosses* or thereabout and went to Madaṇṇā Pant's place early in the morning at the time of his morning bath and prayer, disguised as a Brahman scholar, as he expected in this manner to gain his purpose before his project became known.

Madaṇṇā Pant was a very great man, devoted to the Brahmans, and given to charitable and religious deeds. He always fed a *lakh* of people and never took his meal until he heard from his guest house that every one there had done so. He faithfully observed this practice as was well known in the city. When Raghunāth went to his place, the assembled scholars were debating about the rival claims of Śiva and Vishṇu to the superior position among gods. Raghunāth Pant, though himself a Vaishṇava, espoused the cause of Śiva and established his supremacy to the satisfaction of all. When Vishṇu's party was thus weakened, he turned to their side and established the supremacy of Vishṇu. Then he pointed out the defects of the doctrine of duality and proved the validity of the doctrine of unity. Madaṇṇā Pant was highly pleased with him and honoured and praised him as a great scholar. "You are a great man Oh sir! Whence have you come?

Please order whatever you may require," so said Madaṇṇā. And Raghunāth then answered,—" I do not want money, nor do I hanker after land, rent free villages or a living. You are a virtuous man and well versed in the *Śāstras*. My only desire is to have a private discussion with you for four *ghaṭkās* only. Then Aṇṇā took the Pant to a private place and the latter said,—"I am not a begging scholar but a servant of Śivājī Mahārāj. Raghunāth Pant [134] is my name. Some diplomatic projects about Karnāṭak have been submitted to the Mahārājā, and he intends to see some places in his provinces. He wants to visit the province of Tanjore. I have been desired to see you and bring about a friendly alliance with your empire, so that you may be of use to him when need arises, and similarly he may be of service to you in time of need. With this intent I have come. You are devoted to religion, and to uphold that religion is the ambition of the Mahārājā; you should therefore help and assist him. You should effect friendship between him and your master without any loss of honour on the part of the latter." Madaṇṇā Pant was highly pleased with Raghunāth Pant. The Pant's speech and arguments were convincing, and in this manner did they meet. He was already acquainted with the Mahārājā's fame and had also heard of the Pant. Madaṇṇā Pant now listened to him with more honour and attention than before and swore that eternal amity should be established. After settling that the aims of both the parties should be fulfilled, Madaṇṇā detained Raghunāth and brought his attendants. It

was arranged that Śivājī should see the Bādshāh on his way to Karnāṭak and the Pant was then dismissed.

II.

S.D. [287] Vyankājī Rāje was at Tanjore. Finding that he was behaving improperly, Raghunāth Pant Hanmante counselled him in the following manner,—"Both Śivājī Mahārāj and yourself are Śāhājī Rāje's sons. You know how Śivājī Mahārāj has of his own valour founded a kingdom [288] and won renown. You are his brother and should keep up the reputation (of the family). This is our earnest hope, and we, your hereditary servants, are here for this purpose." When he had said this the Rājā got fiercely angry.

Then Hanmante began another speech with folded hands and in a voice audible to all present,—"Through our co-operation has the kingdom been extended. We have always done what is to your good and will do so in future. Śivājī has a share in this property. He has not demanded it so long, as the Mahārājā cannot be present everywhere, but he is represented by his servants. Then why should he dishonour you? He does not therefore demand his share still. As he is just, so should be you. It is not good to enlist Muhammadans. Keep only a few where necessary. You should so behave as if you too are a part incarnation for the protection of the Hindus. You should listen to the counsel of your servants like us, treat the subjects as your children, love everyone and revile none. Collect wealth,

entertain brave men in your service, give up the wrong path and pursue the right one. Be a Kṛtānta in punishing the bad and to the good be a protector like Sāmb (Śambhu). I am not one of those servants who always follow every whim of yours and flatter you as the Mahārājā. What is good we will call good; but what is bad we will condemn as bad. Without taking it ill, you should give your consent to what is profitable. I shall not accept any dissent because Śāhājī Rāje never went against what we did. You should have more regard for our counsel than he had. If we advise the wrong way do not listen to us on any account, but why should you not listen when it is good counsel? If you listen, well and good; but it depends on your sweet will whether you should or should not. But we are not servants of the ordinary sort. [289] If we go somewhere else then we will have you seated on half of our seat or we will occupy half of your seat.

Śivājī demands his share from Vyankājī.

Ch. [139] From the camp of Jinji the Mahārājā wrote to Vyaṅkājī Rāje requesting him to send some of the principal men of his court,—Govind Bhaṭ Gosāvī and Kākājī Pant and Niḷobā Nāīk and Rangobā Nāīk and Timājī Ikhtyār Rāv. Thereupon Vyankājī Rāje sent them. To them the Mahārājā said,—"Thirteen years have passed since the death of the late Mahārājā. Raghunāth Pant then placed you at the head of the Goverment and completely rendered to you all the belongings of the late Mahārājā;—his jewels,

horses, elephants and lands. But they are my patrimony as well. You have till to-day enjoyed my half share of them; I wanted to demand it of you but I had been far away. As you would not relinquish it voluntarily, I waited for these twelve or thirteen years. In my mind I argued that you were also a son of the Mahārājā and a rightful owner of the property. So I let you enjoy it as long as you would, and I thought I would demand and get my share whenever I need it and was at leisure. However, I came to Bhāgānagar for an interview with the Kutub Shāh for some diplomatic reasons, from there I came to Karnāṭak. Coming to this province I captured Jinjī. I have taken possession of the territories on the banks of the Varuṇā. Sher Khān came to fight me, he was completely routed and I annexed what territories he held. I then came to the banks of the Kāverī and thence wrote to you requesting you to send some good men and you did so." Śivājī asked them (Vyankājī's men) to deliver this message to Vyankājī and gave them a letter to the same effect. Then he despatched them with his officers Bāḷambhaṭ Gosāvī and Kṛshṇa Jośī and Kṛshṇājī Sakhojī. They went [140] to Vyankājī and submitted to him all that the Mahārājā had said. But it had no good effect on Vyankājī's mind and with evil designs he himself started for a personal interview with the Mahārājā. In his mind however he was resolved to enjoy the whole property by using humble words without adverting to the question of partition at all. The Mahārājā spoke to him in all possible manners but Vyankājī

had no intention of relinquishing the share. Then the Mahārājā thought,—"He is my younger brother. Instead of settling the terms previously he has personally come to see me. Therefore it is not appropriate to the honour of an elder, that I should imprison him and exact my share in that way. The Mahārājā then gave him clothes of honour and message of leave. Rūpājī Bhonsle, Mān Sing More and Aṇṇājī Ranganāth Keḷkar were sent with him to see him safely to home. And they came back after Vyankājī Rājā had reached Tanjore.

After the departure of Vyankājī Rāje the Mahārājā sent Śāmjī Nāīk Punḍe, Konerī Pant and Śivājī Śankar with a fresh message.—"Let us divide the property and live in peace. An increase of family quarrel will be injurious to both of us and we shall both suffer. In days of yore the Pānḍavas and Kauravas suffered much. Remember that and do not contribute to the growth of family dissension. Relinquish my half of the patrimony I demand. Far from doing that, you have unjustly enjoyed my share till to-day and intend to do so in future. This is not proper." Though this message was delivered, Vyankājī did not give a proper answer and sent back the envoys. Then the Mahārājā thought,—"As I have come (here) he personally came to see me. He is my younger brother. I should not personally march against him and exhibit my power at his cost." So argued he, and overlooked the fault.

II.

S. D. [310] The Rājā Sāheb was with the Mahārājā for a period of two or two and a half months. The Mahārājā gave the *Kārbhāri* the following instruction one day.—"We are entertaining the followers of Vyankājī Rāje with provision and fodder. We shall have to make a military expedition very soon and so to give the Rāje Sāheb leave to go home. Therefore give a feast to all his men, great and small, and make a list of clothes to be presented at the time of leave giving." * * * Vyankājī Rāje was then given leave to go to Jinji and the *Kārbhāri* accompanied him to see him off. Jewels, elephants, horses and palanquins, etc., were presented to Vyankājī Raje. * * * [311] Then Śāmjī Nāīk, Konḥer Pant and Śivājī Pant were despatched with a letter to Vyankājī Rāje. The purport thereof was as follows,—"You should give me my share of our patrimony. Although I spoke to you personally about it you kept silent. But you are like a son to me. It is not nice that I should, as your elder, speak direct to you about it. I gave you hints in various ways but you took no notice of them. I am sending these three men and you should make a clear settlement before them. If you do not, I will not give up my share but you shall be compelled to surrender it. If you behave yourself properly, the question of any deficiency in the share is only a family matter." [312] When Vyankājī got this letter and understood that the Mahārājā's expedition had gone back, he held a council with four of his principal officers and asked for their advice. "These three men

have come to demand the share."—he said—"During our father's life-time Śivājī Mahārāj rebelled against the Bādshāh and forcibly took possession of the imperial territories. Our father on that account suffered in various ways. I remained with my father and behaved obediently and so the Bādshāh preserved our property. It is not an ancient hereditary gift that he demands a share. Share can be claimed of ancient *watans* alone. But this property is held on service tenure. I call myself a Bādshāhi officer and enjoy this property in accordance with the Bādshāh's order. What claim has he to this property? If there are any elephants, horses and jewels, and if he claims a share thereof, Raghunāth Pant will explain the papers and point out what these are, and I have no objection to giving him his proper share. Although these are the facts, my brother personally spoke to me and wrote letters about his share and you have come. Raghunāth Pant is our senior in age. I kept silent because I did not like to give an impertinent answer to my elder brother. You should inform him to this effect. I shall reply his letter after proper deliberation." So said the Rāje and dismissed the three envoys with clothes of honour. Then Vyankājī wrote to Bijāpur,—"My elder brother demands a share of the patrimony and I have answered that the property is in lieu of service. Why should I give him any share?" The Bādshāh answered his letter to the following effect,—"We have learnt the purport of your letter. Śāhājī Rāje served us faithfully and the *Sanad* was granted to him and his descendants. Śivājī now demands his

share. Although a traitor, he is a Government servant and we are quite able to demand explanation of him. Why do you create family squabbles and bring trouble to the Government? If we write that you should not give him his share he will commit disturbance in our territories [313] and that is not good. His father was our servant and he will enjoy the ancestral property and serve us. Although an enemy, if he demands his rights as a servant in a friendly manner you should certainly surrender them. He is the senior owner of your patrimony." * * * But some Muhammadans encouraged him in the following manner—Śivājī is a rebel. The Bādśhāh is afraid of that devil but we are your servants; and if you decide on war we are here present to die for you. Fight you should, for once at least, and see who wins and who loses.

Terms of the treaty between Śivājī and Vyankājī.

[The following terms were offered by Śivājī in a letter written to Ragunāth Nārāyaṇ] S. D. [328]

1. The *Mānkarīs* related to us should be properly and honourably maintained. They should not be slighted, neither should they be taken into service.

2. No work should be done without the knowledge of the *Darakhdārs* and the *Kāmdārs*. Their counsel should be sought. Get work done by the [329] honest alone but do not let the general public know that they have no real power. Do not disturb the hereditary character of their office but continue it with dignity and honour.

a cannon to intimidate others from committing such an offence.

Rājārām's Marriage.

S.D. [287] At Rāygaḍ, the well-behaved daughter of Hambīr Rāv Mohite was selected, and she was married at an auspicious moment. She was named Sītā Bāī but as she was as bright as a star in her beauty she was also called Tārāū Sāheb.

Coronation.

[According to Śivadigvijaya the coronation was necessitated by the attitude of some old Marāṭhā *Sardārs* like Śirke, Mohite and Mahāḍīk, who refused to sit below Śivājī even in his *Kāchāri*, claiming equality in rank and family honour from old customs (pp. 406-408). It was Bāḷājī Āvjī who had advised the ceremonial coronation, p. 407.]

S.D. [410] "Then arrange for the *chhatra sinhāsan* ceremony," observed the Rājā, and Bāḷājī said,—"All right, Your Majesty." There were four Brahmans who had seen and heard of some of the necessary performances, and they were asked to bring together their several knowledge of the ceremony and to counsel how to prepare for it. But they said that there was at Kāśī, a Brahman of very great attainments, Gāgā Bhaṭṭa, who resembled the Sun itself in his power and austerities and seemed to be the personification of the Vedas. "Somebody," they said, "should be sent to him, and if preparations

were made according to his directions, there would be none to object to the ceremony. So he should be consulted." Thereupon Bāḷājī Bābā submitted to the Mahārājā that there was a very great Kāśī Brahman named Gāgā Bhaṭṭa, somebody should be sent to him to obtain from him the Śāstrik injunctions and that it would be well to get the ceremony performed by him. The Mahārājā was highly pleased and commissioned Bāḷājī Bābā to despatch a *Kārkun* to Kāśī and to pay what money was necessary from the treasury. Rām Chandra Bābājī was accordingly sent. [411] He went with the Mahārājā's letter and explained his mission. Thereupon the Bhaṭṭa replied that he would answer after proper deliberation. Several Brahmans of the place, great and small, were accordingly consulted, and the Bhaṭṭa answered that only the Kshatriyas were entitled to *chhatra* and *sinhāsan*, the Śudras were not. * * * * For a year and a half Rāmchandra Bābājī pleaded that there were so many Śudra kings without any knowledge of Kshatriya rites, but to no avail. Thereupon Bāḷājī Āvjī wrote to Rāmchandra to enquire on what grounds the *chhatra* and *sinhāsan* had been conferred on the Udayapur royal-family, with whom the Rājā was connected. * * * * [412] The Mahārājā however remarked "How is it that one who does good to the subjects and establishes the religion should have no right (to *chhatra* and *sinhāsan*). He who has power is really a king. Are not many kings of low origin enjoying sovereignty? In what respects do they behave like the Kshatriyas?

The future of Śivājī's Kingdom.

Ch. [140] [While in Karnāṭak, encamped at Trivāpi on the Kāverī, the goddess took possession of the Rājā and made the following prophecy.]

1. The kingdom of *Deś* will be conquered by the Muhammadans, Rāygaḍ will be lost. Sambhājī Rājā will be captured and tortured (by the Mughals).

[141] 2. Then another king named Śiva will reign. He will conquer the country as far as Delhi and establish undisputed sway (over the whole area).

3. Rājārām will reign at Jinji. From Jinji he will recover the kingdom of *Deś*.

4. The Bhonsle family will reign for twenty-seven generations. Their era will continue for one thousand years.

5. In a previous birth, Śivājī had carried twenty-seven loads of pitchers filled with the Ganges water on his own shoulders and poured the water at Rāmeśvar, and in his twenty-seven previous births offered his head to Śrī Bhavānī.

6. Owing to the merit of these deeds, the Bhonsle power will last for twenty-seven generations. The twenty-seventh descendant will be born blind and he will lose the kingdom.

The Duties of the Ashṭa Pradhāns.

Ch. [167] The *Mukhya Pradhān* should do all political and administrative works. He should have equal treatment for all, and without any hatred or disrespect for any (of his colleagues) work with the counsel and co-operation of all. The welfare of the

king should be to him, dearer than his own life, and he should always work with dexterity, wisdom and diligence without the least thought for his own personal interest. In times of war he should bravely lead the army and subjugate new kingdoms. He should gather information about the enemy and overthrow them. On state documents and letters he should put his own (additional) seal.

The maintenance of the army should be the special care of the *Senāpati.* He should uphold the dignity and honour of the soldiers and punctually distribute their pay, as it falls due. He should report the good services of the soldiers to the state and get for them *watans* and reward. He should lead the army in war.

The *Amātya* should get the accounts of the whole kingdom, income, expenditure and balance drawn by the *Lekhanādhikārīs* and submit it to the Rājā after personally auditing it. He should put a sign on all official letters and on the accounts of income and expenditure of the whole kingdom as well as of individual *Mahāls.* He should be very expert in account-keeping and submit the papers to the king every day. In times of war or when the necessities of the state demanded he should serve with the army.

The *Sachiv* should after a careful enquiry about the omission or erroneous addition of letters, make fair copies of official correspondence. He should in a similar manner make enquiry about the accounts of *Mahāls* and *Parganās.* He should record his comments on official letters and documents and

enter them into the register. He should bring about the king's welfare in war time (by fighting).

[168] The *Mantrī* should be skilled in statesmanship and do diplomatic works. He should also keep a diary of the daily work of the Rājā. He should also look after the invitations to royal dinners and the necessities thereof. Skilled in business of the state, he should also serve in war. He should put his sign of approval on state papers and documents.

The *Sumanta* should be in charge of foreign affairs. He should keep himself informed of the union or disunion among the enemies and honourably entertain the envoys of foreign powers coming to or going from the Court. He should submit all informations to the Rājā and act according to his orders either in the line of diplomacy or war. On state papers he should put his mark of consent.

The *Paṇḍitrāv* should honour the *Dharmādhikār* (censor), all scholars and learned Brāhmaṇs: and he should get all religious ceremonies,—sacrifices, etc., performed in due time. He should put his sign of consent on all papers concerning religious penalties and penances.

The *Nyāyādhīś* should decide all disputes about professions and ownership of lands, etc., with the co-operation of officers and Brāhmaṇs learned in the *Śāstras*, in a manner that no blame may be laid at the king's door. He should keep the king always informed of these decisions and he should put his sign of consent on all *nibāḍāpatras* or judgment papers.

Śivājī's Death.

S.D. [458] The Mahārājā was practising austerities and had ceased going to his harem. One day, while the Mahārājā lay reclined, he was informed that the Bāī Sāheb wanted him. The Mahārājā entertained no suspicion and went in. The Bāī gracefully placed her head at the Mahārājā's foot, and placed a plate of betel leaves before him. This was the first time she offered betel leaves. The Mahārājā said,—Thirteen months have elapsed since the death of my mother. Till to-day you did not think of betel leaves, how did you suddenly remember it to-day? I have given up the habit." But the Bāī offered them again with oaths of various sorts. The Mahārājā thought in his mind,—"None dies with the dead. What was ordained has happened. My first wife too is gone. In none do I notice any capacity for undertaking the management of my household. But what can I gain by not fulfilling a loving desire? Why should I not please her?" The Rājā accepted the leaves. Then he was requested to sleep there but the Mahārājā paid no heed to her and slept outside. This disgusted the Bāī, "I too have faithfully dealt with him from my childhood. He has known my character. But he has no affection for me, that is why he has left me and slept outside." So thought the Bāī and asked the women of the harem to suggest any remedy that might influence him [459] and offered to give them money or whatever they might demand if they could by any means make the Rājā love her and listen to what

she might say. (Thereupon all sorts of magic were tried) * * * *. One day the Bāī said to the Rājā,—"Your elder son is the rightful heir to the throne, but he cannot pull on well with the officers. My son is still young but he enjoys your Majesty's affection. Tell me whether you will confer the inheritance to the throne on him or on the elder son." Thereupon the Mahārājā answered,—"It is your wish that I should die and the kingdom should pass over to somebody else. If God wills so, it is all right. But you do not entertain in your mind the desire that I and you should jointly enjoy this monarchy. It is better that I should not henceforth come to you. So it has come to this pass. All depends on Rām's will." The Rājā then got up to leave. The Bāī got angry, she was first a woman and secondly she enjoyed power and had no senior. The idea that her son and not Sambhājī should have the kingdom got hold of her mind. For the Mahārājā she expressed only outward affection, but in her mind she wished his death. The Mahārājā watched her mood and one day said to the Swāmī (Rāmdās),—"Thanks to your blessings all my desires have been fulfilled. Now it will be good if Rām kindly summons me to his feet. I can no longer bear the separation from my mother. [460] My younger wife does not wish that Sambhājī should get the throne. She spoke to me wishing to give it to her son. It seems that at heart she wishes that I should die soon. Oh Swāmī! It is not good to live when others wish that one should not live. What is the good of living when my own

wife is anxious for my death" * * * The Rājā then summoned Bāḷājī Bābā and ordered him to send the following letter to every fort. "If any order is issued to you to do any illegal act without any information to the Government, then do no obey it. You should see whether it is in my handwriting and then do what is needful, but you should take no notice of any symbols." * * * * * [462] Although there was no deficiency of anything (as if the goddess of wealth herself was present), evil intention grew in the mind of the Bāī Sāheb and she administered poison to the Rājā. * * * * The Mahārājā did not feel happy since the death of Saī Bāī Sāheb. And he had become indifferent to worldly affairs since the departure to Kailās of Jijā Bāī Sāheb. Sayrā Bāī Sāheb became only the apparent cause of his death.

Śivājī's Death-Bed Prophecy.

Ch. [181] "Thanks to the blessings of Śrī I have founded this kingdom with great heroism. Eighty thousand horsemen I have enlisted. Forts and strongholds, naval stations, provinces, and wealth of various sorts worth *krors* of Rupees, I have acquired. By charity and religious deeds I have earned fame and made a name for this life and the next. My life was not long enough for the conquest of the Empire of Delhi and the kingdom of the north. In future, the kingdom I have founded, should be consolidated and extended, with more heroism than I have ever exhibited and you (my brave officers) should be promoted. The eldest son has come to

age but is cruel and given to pleasure; therefore the future plan does not seem practicable. The younger son is well qualified, but he is as yet a minor and moreover he is the younger of the two. The kingdom might be partitioned, [182] but that will make the principal men of the state conspire against one another for selfish ends. The result will be internal dissension without end instead of further extension of the kingdom. It is the practice of the states that the elder should reign and the younger should serve and obey him. But that does not seem to be possible. The enemy will get an opportunity and this kingdom, the gift of the gods, will be ruined. Sambhājī Rāje is the elder, therefore people will look to him (for support) and that is rational. But his way is peculiar. He will dishonour and ruin the *Sarkārkuns* and those great men who have worked hard for the extension of the kingdom. He will ruin the kingdom and waste all wealth. He will cause the total ruin of everything. He will keep the company of low people and dishonour the great. Nobody will fear anybody else. The foundation I laid, the qualified men I assembled, will not remain, treasures and cash will all be lost. Aurangzib is a powerful enemy, although he has started against us he still keeps within his own bounds owing to the power of our kingdom but he will in future move forward. The empires of Bijāpur and Bhāgānagar have been weakened, he will conquer them and then covet this kingdom. The kingdom will not then be saved in the hands of Sambhājī, but this seems to have been predestined." He kept quiet for

about a *ghaṭkā* with his eyes closed and then prophesied—" Sambhājī will be betrayed. Rājārām will recover the kingdom from Jinji. Moro Paṇḍit, Nirājī Rāvjī, Rāmchandra Niḷkaṇṭh, Sāntajī Ghorpaḍe, Dhanājī Jādhava will again cause the regeneration of the kingdom. There will be a king named Śiva. His kingdom will extend as far as Delhi.

NOTES AND APPENDICES.

No. I.

Śivājīs Mārāṭhī Biographies.

No less than nine *bakhars* or chronicles of Śivājī have come down to us. Of these the first in date as well as in importance is that by Kṛshṇājī Anant Sabhāsad; in fact his is the only work that can claim to be contemporary. The next in importance are Chiṭṇīs *bakhar* and *Śivadigvijaya*. The rest may be dismissed with a cursory glance, as for students of history they are of little or no worth.

Chitragupta's *bakhar* for instance is nothing but an elaborate paraphrase of Sabhāsad, with florid verses of the author's composition interposed here and there. It is significant that at least three out of these nine writers were Prabhu Kayasthas by caste, and two of these if not all were courtiers. Chitragupta was closely related to Śivājī's celebrated *Chiṭṇīs* Bāḷājī Āvjī, whose surname was Chitre. The author Raghunāth Yādava, writing in the pauranic style assumed the pauranic name of Chitragupta. According to his own statement, Chitragupta wrote his history in compliance with the request of Sambhājī of Kolhapur, so the possible date of his work must fall between 1760 and 1770. The *Sheḍgānvkar bakhar* is also an adaptation of Sabhāsad, it has been largely copied from Sabhāsad's work but its date and authorship are unknown. The *Śahānav kalmī bakhar* claims to be a contemporary work but its claim has not yet been uncontrovertably established. The Tanjore temple inscription is interesting only as a wonderful specimen of human industry and has very little intrinsic merit. *Śrī Śivājī*

Prapāp, published at Baroda as early as 1895, is very meagre and consists mainly of myths and legends.

Who wrote the *bakhar* first found in the fort of Rāyri and highly eulogised by Scott-Waring we do not know. An English rendering has been appended to Professor Sir George Forrest's Selections, who also holds a very high opinion of its reliability and historical merit. Forrest has merely echoed Scott-Waring who cannot be regarded as an authority. The late Justice Telang expressed his doubts about the authenticity of the so-called Rāyri *bakhar*. The translation at any rate does not seem to be accurate. The translator in all probability has been more or less free and sacrificed accuracy to the elegance of his style. The two languages are poles apart, so far as style is concerned, and it is futile to expect an elegant English rendering of an old Mārāṭhi *bakhar* to be so accurate as may be safely recommended for uncritical use by the average student. It is also difficult to believe that a Mārāṭhā chronicler, writing long after the foundation of the 'Hindu Pādshāhi' and fully believing Śivājī and his ancestors to be in the special favour of the goddess of Tuḷjāpur, compared a dark night with Śivājī's heart.

The earliest in date, as we have already seen was the work of Kṛshṇājī Anant Sabhāsad, an officer in the service of Chhatrapati Rājārām. Sabhāsad's historical efforts were inspired by the command of his master and he wrote a succinct account of the deeds of Śivājī some of which he must have witnessed. Written only sixteen years after Śivājī's death, Sabhāsad's biography is a contemporary work, mainly based on the personal knowledge of the writer and hearsay evidence. It is needless to say that the science of historical criticism was absolutely unknown to the Mārāṭhā chroniclers. Incapable of sifting historical evidence and over credulous of divine and non-human agencies, these simple old men recorded what they honestly believed to be true. To them Śivājī was a divinity, an incarnation of Śiva, guided at every step by a divine mentor, rescued at every crisis by his patron deity and none of his actions to their opinion at least needed any justification. So

the stories of the capture of Purandar, of the murder of Chandar Rāv More and his brother Hanmant Rāv are plainly told without any comment and without any attempt at justification, the only exception being the Āfzal Khān incident. There, however, all the Mārāṭhā chroniclers are unanimous. Sabhāsad knew how to call a murder a murder, and he and his fellow historians did not think that Śivājī was the party to be blamed so far as that incident was concerned. Grant Duff put his reliance on Khafi Khan why, of course, he knew best. But the different accounts of Śivājī's death and death bed will are perhaps tainted by party bias. Sabhāsad serving under Rājārām could not possibly accuse his mother of an ignoble conspiracy. The unknown author of *Śivadigvijaya* however boldly accuses Sayrā Bāī of the unnatural offence of poisoning her illustrious husband.

Śivājī had become a divinity even in his life-time; people expected, with a fond belief, superhuman deeds of him, and as time progressed, the glamour of the past went on increasing and obscuring more and more the less brilliant but perhaps not less glorious kernel of truth that underlies the tangled masses of Śivājī legends. Every age had some thing new to contribute to the legends of the brave deeds of the glorious dead and that explains many of the interesting anecdotes of Chiṭṇīs and *Śivadigvijaya* not to be found in the earlier work of Sabhāsad. What evidence did these later works rely on, and what new sources of information had their authors discovered? Both Malhār Rām Rāv and the author of *Śivadigvijaya* were well versed in Sanskrit lores, they were certainly better scholars than their old predecessor, but what old state papers that they profess to have used could tell them that Śivājī, when a boy of eight, had chastised a Muhammadan butcher in the very streets of the Muhammadan metropolis for the very common offence (?) of cow-slaughter? Whence could they learn that the young boy smarting under the disgrace of Muhammadan dependence and dying to liberate his motherland and coreligionists from the intolerable tyranny of the *mlechchhas*, boldly refused to salute

the non-hindu Sultan of Bijāpur, heedless of the earnest expostulations of his timid father? We can guess why the author of *Śivadigvijay* laid so much emphasis on the misgovernment and the tyranny of the alien rulers, but what evidence better than tradition, had he for his assertions? Traditions they evidently had in their favour, and ignorant of the science of history they uncritically recorded what they believed to be true. Sabhāsad, a contemporary, had the advantage of having more intimate knowledge of his own times but he is absolutely silent about the incidents of his hero's childhood. Anecdotes he had very few to relate and except while contemplating with evident satisfaction upon the discomfitures of his Muhammadan enemies, and dilating on their lamentations, we can safely rely upon the evidence of the old courtier. Traditions had not yet sufficiently grown in volume to mislead him, nor is he in a mood to be too much talkative. Very brief is he and we wish he might have been more communicative, but he writes his history more as a task than as a labour of love and begins his work with his master's behest and ends it with a very expressive though formal sentence,—"What more should I write?"

Equally incapable of sifting and fabricating evidence as they were, the old chroniclers laboured under a still greater difficulty. They had not realised the necessity of a sound chronological arrangement. Narration devoid of chronology seems to have been their sole idea of a historian's work, and they narrated what legends or facts they could compile from traditions, hearsay and state papers without any attempt of ascertaining the date of any event. No doubt they give us a few dates of very important events, as for example those of the birth and death of Śivājī but even on these rare occasions the chroniclers do not agree with one another. Nor are they unanimous in their account of the deeds and exploits of their great hero. Not only do they give different accounts of Śivājī's marriages but they hold very different views about the paternity of his wives. Sai Bāī, the first wife of Śivājī, says Sabhāsad, was a daughter of the Nimbāḷkar family. According to Chitragupta she belonged

to the Mohite family, while according to Chiṭṇīs and *Śiva-digvijaya* she was a Śirke by birth. According to the last two authors, Śivājī was born on Thursday the *Śuddha Dvitīyā* of *Vaiśākh*, the *Samvatsar* being Prabhava by name, in the year 1549 of the Śaka era. But the *Vaiśākh Śuddha Dvitīyā* of that year was a Saturday and not Thursday. These contradictions and mistakes led Mr. V. K. Rajwade to hold the extreme view that all *bakhars* are equally untrustworthy except when they are corroborated by foreign evidence. But Sabhāsad, I think, should be credited with greater authority than his successors in historical efforts. Let us take for example his account of Āfzal Khān's sacrilege at Tuljāpur. Both Chiṭṇīs and the author of *Śivadigvijaya* say that the goddess was not pounded in a mill but she was saved by a timely removal by her priest, whom she had forewarned of the evil designs of Āfzal. Modern criticism will not allow the admission of such divine agencies into sober history and Sabhāsad as a contemporary had certainly better means to know the truth. The author of *Śivadigvijaya* evinces throughout his work a more hostile attitude towards the Muhammadans than Sabhāsad anywhere does. It was perhaps the Hindu pride of these later writers that led them to give an irrational account of the Tuljāpur incident. Evidently for such events Sabhāsad is more reliable. But Mr. Rajwade is certainly right when he says that neither a reliable chronology nor a satisfactory history of the period can be compiled unless the ill-arranged materials of the *bakhars* are rearranged and supplemented by original Mārāṭhi state papers and letters, the Persian *twarikhs* and the contemporary English, Dutch, French and Portuguese papers.

Let us now try to ascertain the date and the authorship of the remaining two *bakhars*, *viz.*, *Chiṭṇīs* and *Śivadigvijaya* About the authorship of the former there is no doubt, as it is named after the author Malhār Rām Rāv Chiṭṇīs. He commenced his work on the 10th of June 1810 at the command of Śāhu Chhatrapati—at least so says he or the writer of the introductory sentences of his history. But Mr. V. K. Rajwade points out that

the Second Śāhu Chhatrapati died on the 4th of May, 1808 and so it is absurd to suppose that he could request Malhār Rām Rāv to write a history of his great ancestor (on the 8th of June 1810) two years later. This discrepancy, says Mr. Rajwade, makes us hesitate to put implicit confidence in Chiṭṇīs. It may be an oversight on the part of the author but it is difficult to believe that a contemporary could commit such a blunder, and I feel inclined to suppose that these introductory sentences were not written by Malhār Rām Rāv at all. We know how the old Bengali poets felt it incumbent on them to atribute their poetical inspiration to some divine behest. There is at least one case (see Vijayagupta's Manasāmangál) where the introductory portion dealing with the supposed interview of the diety and the poet was the work of a second party. Such might have been the case with Mālhār Rām Rāv's work also. Almost every chronicler offers the customary excuse that his literary effort had its origin in the request of some royal personage or some grandees or some friends—in short their work was not altogether voluntary. Perhaps the convention of the times demanded for such historical work some excuse more valid than the initiative of the historian's own mind Malhār Rām Rāv had perhaps ommitted to supply this customary plea for his literary attempts. The omission was perhaps regarded as so glaring a blunder in those days that perhaps later on a relative or an admirer or a mere copyist felt it his duty to supply it.

A comparison of these introductory sentences with those in *Sabhāsad bakhar* will confirm the above view ;—writes Kṛshṇājī Anant Sabhāsad—To Śrīmant Mahārāj Rājśrī Rājārām Sāheb Chattrapati with the *humble respects* of his *servant* Kṛshṇājī Anant Sabhāsad *Your Majesty* very *kindly* said to your *servant* etc. (विनंती सेवक कृष्णाजी अनंत सभासद कृतानेक विज्ञापना ऐसी जे साहिबी मिहरवानी करून सेवकास पुसीलें कीं etc.) The introductory sentences of Chiṭṇīs run as follows, on (a date is given), Kshatriyakulāvatansa Śrīrājādhirāj Śrimahārājā Paratāpī (valiant) Śāhunṛpati master of the throne and umbrella ordered *Rājmānya Rajśrī* Mālhār Rām Rāv Chiṭṇīs as follows. The customay phrases—

Rājmānya Rājśhrī before Chiṭṇīs's name offer a striking contrast to Sevaka (Servant) as Sabhāsad styles himself. An officer in the royal service writing at the personal commard of his royal master, would with more consistence to courtesey and good manners dispense with these ordinary terms of distinction. The death of that master would entitle him still more to the humble respects of his servant. The absence of such courteous considerations on the part of a courtier like Malhār Rām Rāv cannot otherwise be explained. The obvious conclusion is that these few lines were added by one to whose courtesey and respect Malhār Rām Rāv also was entitled.

Although, ignorant of the necessity of a chronological arrangement, Malhār Rām Rāv divided his history into seven chapters and Grant Duff describes his history as a voluminous work. Chiṭṇīs says that he used many Sanskrit works and old state papers, for writing his biography of Śivājī and he gives us many additional materials mainly anecdotal. Whatever may be the value of these legendary contributions we cannot dispense with his account of the administrative system where we get more details than in the short pages of Sabhāsad and as Chiṭṇīs had access to old state papers his authority on this branch of history should not be challenged.

As Sabhāsad's is the shortest, *Śivadigvijaya* is the most voluminous of these three *bakhars*. Its authorship is however a mystery yet unsolved and its date cannot be very accurately ascertained. It was published at Baroda about a quarter of a century ago and its authorship is ascribed by the joint editors, Messrs. Nandurbarkar and Dandekar, to Khaṇḍo Ballāḷ Chiṭṇīs son of Bāḷāji Āvajī. It is certain that the author was a Prabhu Kayastha by caste and probably a ḷineal descendant of Śivājī's Chiṭṇīs. Bāḷājī is described by the unknown author as the foremost statesman whose wisdom and fidelity secured the confidence of his master to such an extent that nothing was done without previously consulting him. He was entrusted with the highly important and delicate task of recording the divine behest when the king himself was possessed by the

goddess of Tuḷjāpur. While Brahman, Mārāṭhā and even Muhammedan commanders were won over by bribe or pursuation, the Prabhu subjects of the Habśi clung to their master and proudly told the founder of the Mārāṭhā power that they could not sully their honour by committing treachery even for so good a cause. The heroism of the Prabhus roused the enthusiam of the chronicler much above the ordinary bound of admiration and he devotes page after page to an account of the gallant defence of Bhuikoṭ of Belvāḍi by a Prabhu Kāyastha lady. All these jointly and severally leave no doubt about the caste of the author, he was a Prabhu and rightly proud of the brilliant service rendered by his castemen to the national cause. He was like Malhār Rām Rāv a good Sanskrit scholar, he had evidently read the Purāṇas and his work is full of Sanskrit quotations both short and long. But who was he? Certainly not Khanḍo Ballāḷ. According to him artisans from Calcutta were invited to participate in the construction of Śivājī's throne. Had such an intimate relation either commercial or political been established with Calcutta in Khanḍo Ballāḷ's time? Probably not. While describing the boundaries of the four provinces that constitute the Deccan, he mentions Madras to indicate the frontiers of one. We should expect Khanḍo Ballāḷ and even his grandson to call it by the now obsolete name of Chinapaṭṭan. Evidently Khanḍo Ballāḷ could not be the author of *Śivadigvijaya.*

Mr. Rajwade thinks that its author was probably some scion of the Baroda branch of the Chiṭṇīs family. This does not however settle the question of authorship The question of its date of composition is no less uncertain. If we accept the suggestion of Mr. Shankar Balkrishna which has the support of Mr. Rajwade, we get the possible date of 1818. But here the language of the chronicle stands in our way. Messrs. Nandurbarkar and Dandekar are of opinion that the language is very old and resembles more the style of the first half of the 18th century than that of the first decade of the 19th. I am not well acquainted with the Mārāṭhi

literature other than historical and do not feel myself ompetent to pass any opinion on such a delicate question as nat of style so I must yield to such high authorities as Messrs. Nandurbarkar, Dandekar and Rajwade, but all the same I cannot help noticing that the language of the work is at times very modern. But this only confirms the view of Mr. Rajwade who holds that the work was nothing but a revised edition of an old *bakhar* by a comparatively modern editor. Prof., Sarkar thinks that *Śivadigvijaya* is the revised edition of a now lost *bakhar* of which *Tārikh-i-Śivajī* is the Persian rendering. The chronicler derived his information from documents, letters and state papers among other sources, and gives minute details of many incidents not to be found in older works with perfect confidence. But voluminous as the work is, it lamentably lacks any detailed account of Śivājī's administrative system. Sabhāsad and Chiṭṇīs are by far its superior in this respect but the legends of Śivājī found one of their best compilers in the unknown Prabhu author who wrote or revised *Śivadigvijaya* On the whole I am inclined to think that the work is more modern than is ordinarily supposed.

No. II

Śivājī's relation with the Udayapur Family.

(*From Mr. V. K. Rajwade's Mārāthi Article*)

A controversy has lately arisen on the question of Śivājī's relation with the royal family of Mewār. It appears from the old *bakhars*, that the claim was first set forward at the time of Śivājī's coronation. According to the author of *Śivadigvijaya*

the learned Brahmans of Benares headed by the renowned Gāgā Bhaṭ were opposed to the coronation of a Śudra monarch, and Śivājī's envoy tried in vain to obtain their sanction and spent no less than six months in his fruitless attempts at persuation. The resourceful *Chiṭnīs* Bāḷājī Āvjī, however, was not to be so easily baulked, and although his master had made some remarks similar to that of Napoleon about the vanity of fabricated pedigrees, it was by that very means that Bāḷājī gained his end. He maintained that Śivājī was descended from the royal family of Udayapur and was therefore a Kshatriya. The Brahmans could no longer object to take part in his coronation, and Śivājī assumed the sacred thread, when according to Indian ideas he had welnigh passed the prime of his life. His family name Bhonsle was according to this tradition, derived from his ancestor Bhosājī, son of Dilīp Sing, son of Sujan Sing, son of Ajay Sing, son of Lakshmaṇ Sing, the Rāṇā of Chitor and a contemporary of the famous Allauddin Khilizi, Emperor of Delhi. Mr. G. S. Ṣardesai holds that there is nothing improbable in the story. And he argues that like the Pawārs, the Jādhavas and many other northern families, with whom Śivājī had blood relation, the Bhonsles also might have migrated from the north. Mr. V. K. Rajwade is however opposed to this view and his arguments are here quoted in extenso. In the temple inscription of Maṭh,—says Mr. Rajwade—are found the names of Narsīdev and Bhām Sāvant of Wāḍi. The date of this inscription is 1397 A. D. As Narsīdev built this temple to gratify his departed father Bhāmdev, the latter must have died a few years before 1397 A.D. Therefore Bhāmdev's regime may be roughly calculated to have lasted from 1360 A. D. to 1397 A. D. The original surname of the Sāvants was Bhonsle. Before Bhām Sāvant could have assumed the new surname, his ancestors for 3 or 4 generations must have been feudatories to some great overlord. Otherwise the new surname of Sāvant could not be assumed in lieu of the old family name of Bhonsle. Therefore it seems that for about a century the Sāvants were known in Konkaṇ as chiefs of note

and their old surname Bhonsle must have been familiar there at least for a century before Bhāmdev came to power. This gives us the possible date of 1260 A. D. The Sāvants of Wāḍi belonged to the same stock as Śivājī and his ancestors, as can be conclusively proved by the evidence of Sabhāsad and also from two documents published by Mr. Rajwade in the 8th volume of his sources of Mārāṭhā History (documents No. 132 and 62). According to the tradition however Devjī, son of the Bhosājī was the first man in the family to come to the south. Devjī was the seventh in descent from Lakshmaṇ Sing, whose date was 1235 to 1303 A. D. From the evidence of the temple inscription of Maṭh, it has been proved that the old familiar surname of the family was known in Konkaṇ as early as 1260 A. D. It is therefore incompatible with the traditional genealogy which Mr. Rajwade holds to have been forged by Śivājī's admirers.

No. III

The Influence of Persian on Old Marāṭhi

(From Mr. V. K. Rajwade's Mārathi Article)

In modern Mārāṭhi, Sanskrit words abound as much as in modern Bengali, but in the Mārāṭhi of Śivājī's time there was a preponderence of Persian words, so much so that old Mārāṭhi documents are as unintelligible to a non Persian-knowing Mārāṭhā, as to a foreigner. Yet in the earliest Mārāṭhi writings like Dnāneśvarī or, Parśarāmopdeś, not one word of Persian origin is found. From Śivājī's time downwards the Mārāṭhā writers were striving for eliminating Persian from their writings, and although the movement was crowned with eminent success,

Persian has not failed to leave a lasting impression, not only upon the Mārāṭhi vocabulary, but also upon its style and syntax.

How far Mārāṭhi was influenced by Persian is very interesting to note. Mr. V. K. Rajwade says that out of 91 words in a letter written by Diānat Rāv, a Brahman minister in the service of the Bijāpur Government, thirty were purely Persian and out of the rest all except three or four were translation of Persian words or terms. Even अखंडित लक्ष्मी प्रसन्न and परोपकारमूर्त्ति in the address of the letter are nothing but a literal translation of *Dāmdaulathun* and *Mushfikmihrbān*. The word सेवक so often found in Marāṭhi letters, is also, according to Mr. Rajwade, an imitation of Persian *bandā*—for such use is not found in the few Sanskrit and pre Muhammadan Mārāṭhi letters that have come down to us. It may be objected,—says Mr. Rajwade—that Diānat Rāv was an officer of a Muhammadan state and the prevalence of Persian in his letters, does not prove that other Mārāṭhās also used so many Persian or Persianised words in their everyday language. In answer to this possible objection Mr. Rajwade points out that in a letter of Śivājī himself no less than 31 Persian words have been used and some of them more than once. The following figures collected by Mr. Rajwade is worth noticing

Date of letters.	Persian word.	Mārāṭhi.	Total.	Percentage of Mahrathi words.
1628	202	34	236	14·4
1677	51	84	135	62·2
1728	8	119	127	96·3

Nor was this influence confined to state papers and deplomatic correspondence alone. Although the general literature and poetry were better protected against the foreign invasion, they had not escaped altogether unscathed. And to illustrate how the poetic language also had been affected by Persian influence Mr. Rajwade quotes an extract from Eknāth's writings. We quote here only half a dozen verses from the above mentioned

extract and a cursory glance will convince the reader how far Persian had replaced words of purely Sanskrit origin—

अर्जदास्त अर्जदार। बंदगीबंदनेवाज
अलेकं सलाम। साहेबांचे सेवेसी
बंदे शरीराकार। जीवाजी शेरस्तेदार
बुधाजी कारकून। प्रगणे शरीराबाद
किल्ले कायापुरी। सरकार साहेबांची

Let us now see how far Mārāṭhi syntax and style have been influenced by Persian. In Mārāṭhi documents and state papers, we come across, at every step, expressions likes किल्ले A, मौजे B, and परगणे C; Mr. Rajwade points out that in pure Mārāṭhi they should be किल्ला A, मौजा B and परगणा C, but the form in use is the Persian form *Killā-i-A*, *Maujā-i-B* and *Parganā-i-C*. Some common expressions like शपथ खाणे to swear and हाक मारणे to call out are nothing but literal translation of Persian expressions like *Kasam Khurdan* and *Bang jadan*. Instances of this kind could be multiplied, it will suffice here if we simply quote from Rajwade some Persian adjectives and adverbs now in common use in Mārāṭhi—

1. हर (each), हर रोज
2. बे (without), बेदील (disheartened).
3. देखील, with, even.
4. ते to, चाळीस ते पन्नास
5. गैर wrong, गैर राहा etc.

A list of proper names of Persian extraction, once so common in Mahārāshṭra will also be of interest to us—

(1) Sultān Rāv, (2) Jān Rav, (3) Bājī Rāv, (4) Rustum Rāv, (5) Śāhājī Rāv, (6) Śāhu, (7) Phirangojī Rāv, (8) Diānat Rāv, (9) Sarje Rāv, (10) Haibat Rāv, (11) Sarfojī Rāv, (12) Gul Bāī, (13) Daryājī Rāv, etc. And surnames like Chiṭṇīs Faḍnīs, Potnīs, Mushrif have also been borrowed from Persian. We may also note that for such sobriquets as अबा, बाब, अबु, अमा, मामा, अमी, मामी, नाना, नानी, नमी, काका, काकी, etc., Mārāṭhi is indebted to Persian.

How far Mārāṭhi writers have been successful in shaking off the influence of Persian may be seen also from a comparative study of the three *bakhars* presented here to our readers. In style as well as in language, Sabhāsad's work gives evidence of the Persian influence, and the style and language of *Chiṭṇīs* and *Śivadigvijaya* as conclusively show that their work belonged to a period when Persian words had gradually yielded place to words of Sanskrit extraction.

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